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James Ralph.

QUESTIO

THE FABULOUS

OF 77

THE
Other Side of the QUESTION:
VOL. I. OR, AN *Morris*
ATTEMPT
To Rescue the
CHARACTERS
Of the Two ROYAL SISTERS
Q. MARY and Q. ANNE,

Out of the Hands of the
D---s D---s of ——————
IN WHICH

All the REMARKABLES in her Grace's late
Account are stated in their full Strength, and as
fully answer'd; the Conduct of Several Noble
Persons is justify'd; and all the necessary Lights
are thrown on our COURT-HISTORY from the
Revolution, to the Change of the Ministry in 1710.

In a LETTER to Her GRACE.

By a WOMAN of QUALITY.

*He that is first in his own Cause seemeth just, but his
Neighbour cometh and searcheth him.* SOLOMON.

LONDON:
Printed for T. COOPER, at the *Globe* in
Pater-noster-Row. 1742.

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Сирийский Гоуплер:

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всеобщее и в то же время
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известных письмов. Оно
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и изображает звуки, сим-
волы и даже целые слова.

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и Греции.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

ACertain great Lady, living not far from St. James's, hath lately been at great Expence, to give the Public a Glimpse of a very faulty Edifice: In the following Piece it will be made appear, that the Book set forth from the same Quarter, is a Project of the like Nature; and consequently, that it exposes what could not be too carefully concealed.

But of this by the Way.

The chief Ends of this Advertisement are, to put in a Caution to the Reader; That, in the first Section, he is to expect little more than certain natural and obvious Remarks on the Character and Conduct of the eminent Person to whom it is address'd: And to apprise him, that, in the last, the View is enlarrg'd, and a comprehensive Draught is given of Affairs in general; which no Portion of our History deserv'd, or wanted more.

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T H E
Other Side of the Question.

I N A

L E T T E R

T O

Her GRACE the Dowager Duchess

O F

* * * * *

M A D A M,

AS your Grace still seems to retain that Fire which render'd you so conspicuous in Power, and so impatient on being *turned out*, I make no question but you will denounce it an unpardonable Presumption in any nameless Writer, of whatever Sex or Rank, to shew more Concern for the Character of the late excellent

A

Queen

Queen *Anne*, your once Royal Mistress, and her no less excellent Sister *Q. Mary*, than yours; and especially to do Justice to their injured Memories, at your Grace's Expence.

But, Madam, before you suffer your Resentments to transport you too far, be pleased to take into Consideration, that Authorship, as well as Love, sets all Mankind on a Level; and that whoever draws a Pen is as liable to be called to an Account for the Use made of it, as he that draws a Sword.

The Laws of Criticism, as well as those of Equity, have made no Exceptions in favour of Titles, Wealth, and Power; and I intend to employ both so conscientiously, that I may be able to finish my Work with that celebrated Sentence of your Grace's : *All this I know to be true.*

Your Grace has represented Fame, even after Life, as a real Good; and been at some Pains to establish your own, as the noblest Monument. Both the Design, and the Sentiment on which it is founded, are far from blameable: But the World will by no means be persuaded to endure, that you should set up

up your own Statue in the Place of hers, who raised you out of the Dust, if I may be allowed to borrow a pointed Phrase of your own; and without whom, 'tis more than possible, Posterity would never have known that such a Person as your Grace, a Daughter of Mrs. Jennings, ever had a Being.

Perhaps, Madam, you may think it worth your while to protest that this was never your Intention; and Charity may induce us to believe that your Trespass was not owing to premeditated Malice. But Vanity is a most seducing Guide, and your Grace has slid, I hope insensibly, into a Fault, which it may be equally hard to acknowledge, or excuse.

* *This makes dear Self on well-bred Tongues prevail,*

And I the little Hero of each Tale,
says the Satirist. 'Tis a shrewd Remark, and occurs to Mind in almost every Paragraph of your Grace's notable Performance; in which Mrs. Freeman is every where the Heroine, and poor Mrs. Morley no better

than a Foil to set her off to the more Advantage.

Fond, therefore, as your Grace has declared yourself to be of Fame, that Fondness should not have misled you to trespass on the Bounds of Decorum : Nor had you succeeded worse, if you had recollect'd, when you first set out in search of that infatuating Goddes, that according to the ingenuous, tho' plain-dealing Antients, the right Road lay through the Temple of Virtue, of which **GRATITUDE** is the Corner-Stone.

To blow one's own Trumpet carries with it a very mortifying Insinuation ; and those who do, tho' they tickle their own Ears, only insult other People's. A Person of your Grace's incredible Opulence, could be under no Necessity to become your own Advocate. Had your *good Works* been *visible*, you could not have failed of *Glory*. Those of the Great cannot escape Notice, cannot want Acknowledgments, cannot miss of Applause : In that Case, you need not have followed Fame ; for Fame would have taken a Pride to follow you.

But

But with whatever Zeal I am led to do; Justice to the Ashes of the Dead, I propose to do no Violence to the Character of the Living. Your Grace shall not be arraign'd without Reason, nor condemned without Proof: To support every Article advanced under the Head of Vanity, in particular, I shall make use of your own Words; and in that Case there will be no need of any farther Evidence.

You must give me Leave, Madam, to add, that the Public has been long put in Expectation of this Production of yours; and, as it was feared it would be posthumous, many Persons were almost as impatient to see your Grace in the Hands of the College, that they might have the Pleasure of reading your Works, as if they had been Heirs to your immense Riches.

But then they expected a History of your own Times, not an Apology for your own Conduct: they expected many important Secrets would have been brought to Light: That, especially, no Consideration whatever, would

have prevailed with you to stile (*a*) all you knew relating to that BIRTH, which has been so often represented as an Imposture, tho' never proved to be one. In Justice and Gratitude to the Father, to whom your Lord ow'd so much: In Justice and Gratitude to the People, of whose Liberality Blenheim is like to be an almost eternal Monument, they imagined you ought to have stated the whole *Affair*, with all the Clearness it would admit of: That either no Pretence might have been left to keep alive two Viper-like Factions, which feed on the Vitals of their Country; or that the real Reasons might be known, which induced the *Revolution-Patriots* to connive at so infamous a Calumny, and visit the Iniquities of the Father on his innocent Posterity.

All this, however, your Grace has thought fit to leave as you found it; like Eternity covered

(a) Lady Churchill was then of the Bed-Chamber to the Princess of Denmark, and brought her the News of the _____'s Delivery; on which Occasion many remarkable Pleasantries, for which her Highness had a passionate Fondness, passed between them.

covered with Darkness and Perplexity : In which however it must be acknowledged, you have play'd the Politician ; and by not interfering with our Difficulties, have very effectually avoided any Addition to your own.

I shall close my Introduction, Madam, with observing that our present incomparable Laureat, a (a) professed Admirer of your Grace, was the first *Apologist* in Form for his own Life, who has appear'd in our Times: That his hopeful Son, as I am informed, did himself the Honour of treading, soon after, on his Father's Heels : That your Grace is the Third in this remarkable List ; and that if the (b) eminent Person your Grace has so happily distinguish'd by his *instinctive Aversion to Accounting* was to do the same, this (c) *Table of Fame* might be supposed to be full, and that there would scarce be Room for any future Candidate.

Your Grace has given us to understand, that your Ascendancy over your Royal

A 4

Mistress

(a) Vide Cibber's *Apology*.

(b) Account, Page 5.

(c) See Tatler.

Mistress had its Foundation almost in your *Infancy*, tho' by what *Accident* you *happen'd* to fall in her Way, you have not thought proper to explain: That she ever took a Delight to honour you: That your first Preferment to her Service was at her own *earnest Request*. And that her Court was so oddly composed, that 'it was making yourself no great Compliment to say, 'her chusing to spend more Time with you 'than any of her other Servants, was no 'Discredit to her T A S T E,' though you had never *read*, as you afterwards inform us, though you had devoted all your Leisure Hours to *Cards*, and Lady *Clarendon* was, at least, qualify'd to talk like a *Scholar*, though she look'd like a *Madwoman*, as you are pleased to tell us, archly enough.

I shall make no other Remark on these minute Particulars, than this; viz. That either your Grace has been rather too partial to your own Excellencies, or it must be allowed the Princess had both a discerning Eye and a well-disposed Heart; since she could

could both find out, and enter into Friendship with the most amiable, and accomplished Person in her Court.

Your Grace proceeds. ‘ Be that as it will, it is certain she at length distinguished me by so high a Place in her Favour, as perhaps no Person ever arrived at a higher with Queen or Princess. And, if from hence I may draw any Glory, it is, that I both obtained and held this Place without the Assistance of Flattery ; a Charm, which in Truth her Inclination for me, together with my unwearied Application to serve and amuse her, rendered needless ; but which, had it been otherwise, my Temper and Turn of Mind would never have suffer’d me to employ.

Your Grace farther adds, certain other Flourishes on your Abhorrence of Flattery : which, in my humble Opinion, are not so conclusive on that Head as you seem to imagine. Flattery does not always imply fulsome Praises and slavish Compliances ; none but the grossest Appetites can swallow such coarse Food : There is a Species of a much more

refined and dangerous Nature, which never appears in its own Shape; but makes its Approaches in so happy a Disguise, as to be mistaken for Truth, Simplicity, and Plain-Dealing. Your Grace had Discernment enough to find that the Princess had an Aversion to the first; so, very adroitly, made use of the last; and, as you confess yourself, found your Account in it.

This puts me in mind of a Passage in SHAKESPEAR's *Julius Cæsar*, which your Grace must give me Leave to transcribe.

He loves to hear, That Unicorns may be betray'd with Trees, And Bears with Glasses, Elephants with Holes, Lions with Toils, and Men with Flatterers. But when I tell him he hates Flatterers, He says he does, being then most flatter'd.

The Words *unweary'd Application to serve and AMUSE her*, p. 11, moreover seem to insinuate, that a Person, who has filled a Book with her own Praises, could, upon Occasion,

go out of the rough Road, and lead her Mistress thro' the Carpet-Ground, she loved so well to wander over herself.

But Flattery, Madam, is what you never happened to be accused of, nor of temporising with the Humours of your Royal Patroness.--The Peccadillos you have been supposed answerable for, are of a quite contrary Class ; of playing the Tyrant with your Sovereign, of insisting on your own Will in Opposition to hers, and of carrying your own Points with a high Hand, almost whether she would or not.

Whether, Madam, you are justly charged or not with these Trifles, will appear better by the Sequel : But certainly, 'tis not a little surprising your Grace should totally forget, that ever such a Bill was brought against you ; especially since it is laid in the Name of half the Kingdom, and more than half believ'd, tho' for Party-Reasons not acknowledged, by the rest.

Give me Leave, Madam, in this Place to quote a Passage or two, from a Sort of Prefatory Letter to the *Examiner*.

' Instead

‘ Instead of the mild Influences of a gracious Queen governing by Law, we soon felt the miserable Consequences of Subjection to the Will of an arbitrary Junto, and to the Caprice of an insolent Woman.

‘ Unhappy Nation! which expecting to be governed by the best, fell under the Tyranny of the worst of her Sex. But now, thanks be to God, that Fury who broke loose to execute the Vengeance of Heaven on a sinful People is restrain'd; and the Royal Hand is already reached out to chain up the Plague.

Again in another Place of the same Letters.

‘ Their first Attempt, was to take that Privilege from her, which the meanest of her Subjects enjoy, and Slavery was to pursue her even into her *Bed-Chamber*.

I do not presume, Madam, to make any Application: But 'tis nevertheless my humble Opinion, that your Grace's best Friends would have found more Satisfaction in your Performance, if you had condescended to bring the Articles under this Head to *Account*;

or

or made it appear they were without Foundation.

I cannot avoid transcribing the two following Passages entire; because the last especially, is merely Historical; and, tho' manifestly calculated by your Grace, only to give your Readers yet higher Ideas of your own Importance, serves notwithstanding to prove, that for Delicacy of Sentiment, the Princess of *Denmark* was scarce to be parallel'd by any of the Heroines of Romance; of whose Perfections, it must be presum'd, her Highness was, at this Time, particularly fond.

‘ Kings and Princes, for the most Part,
‘ imagine they have a Dignity peculiar to
‘ their Birth and Station, which ought to
‘ raise them above all Connexion of Friend-
‘ ship with an Inferior. Their Passion is to
‘ be admired and feared, to have Subjects
‘ awfully obedient, and Servants blindly ob-
‘ sequious to their Pleasure. Friendship is
‘ an offensive Word ; it imports a Kind of
‘ Equality between the Parties ; it suggests
‘ nothing to the Mind of Crowns or Thrones,

high Titles, or immense Revenues, Fountains of Honour, or Fountains of Riches; Prerogatives which the Possessors would have always uppermost in the Thoughts of those who are permitted to approach them.

The Princess had a different Taste. A Friend was what she most coveted ; and for the Sake of Friendship (a Relation which she did not disdain to have with me) she was fond even of that *Equality* which she thought belonged to it. She grew uneasy to be treated by me with the Form and Ceremony due to her Rank ; nor could she bear from me the Sound of Words which implied in them Distance and Superiority. It was this Turn of Mind, which made her one Day propose to me, that whenever I should happen to be absent from her, we might in all our Letters write ourselves by feigned Names, such as would import nothing of Distinction of Rank between us. *Morley* and *Freeman* were the Names her Fancy hit upon ; and she left me to chuse by which of them I would be called. My frank, and

and open Temper naturally led me to pitch upon *Freeman*, and so the Princess took the other; and from this Time Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman began to converse as Equals, made so by Affection and Friendship. *Account*, p. 13, 14, 15.

And here, to let your Grace see that I am a fair Critic, and that I have no Quarrel to your Wit and Humour, however I may differ from you in other Respects, I shall acknowledge your Picture of such as are but too generally Court-Chaplains, is taken from the Life, as are all the other masterly Sketches you are pleased to favour us with; to which I shall do equal Justice as they fall in my Way. The Chaplains about her [the Princess] were such Divines as could have said but little in Defence of their own Religion, or to secure her against the Pretences of Popery, recommended to her by a Father and a King. *Ib.* p. 16.

What follows, for two or three Pages, relates to the Revolution: Nor is there anything more astonishing in that grand Event, than that both the Prince of Denmark and

Lord *Churchill* should desert King *James*, and go over to the Prince of *Orange*, without any previous Consultation with, or Notice given to their Ladies, tho' then in the Power, and almost at the Mercy of an offended Sovereign and Father; and that the Princess's Escape should depend on a Note, nameless as far as it appears, directed to Lady *Churchill*, and the precipitate Measures taken thereon with an absconding Bishop, who was as much in Danger as those he undertook to deliver. All which your Grace is pleased to insinuate, and no doubt expect the World to believe.

But alas, Madam! the World has lost much of its antient Complaisance; and an Author, of whatever Sex or Quality, must write with Probability at least, if they hope to obtain Credit. It has never been disputed that the Prince of *Orange* was invited over; nay such an Invitation is actually extant, under the Title of a *Memorial* to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*. Nor is it to be imagined, that a Person of his Highness's Prudence and Sagacity would have ventured on such

such an Enterprize, unless he had first consulted both the Prince of *Denmark* and Lord *Churchill*; nay, perhaps, unless he had first seen their Hands and Seals at the Bottom of the said Memorial : Which being allowed; we can scarce avoid concluding, that both the Princess and Lady *Churchill* were in the Secret, and that the *Escape* was not so much a Piece of * Chance-medley-Work, as it has been represented.

But no Body is more a Mistress of the Art of *Surprising* than your Grace ; as is demonstrable from what follows.

' It was evident to all the World, that as
 ' Things were carried on by King *James*,
 ' every body sooner or later must be ruin'd,
 ' who would not become a *Roman Catho-*
 ' *lick*. This Consideration made me very
 ' well pleased at the Prince of *Orange*'s un-
 ' dertaking to rescue us from such Slavery.
 ' But I do solemnly protest, that, if there be
 ' Truth in any Mortal, I was so very simple

* This is confirmed by *Burnet*, who asserts, that Admiral *Russel* had actually carried Messages between the Prince of *Orange* and Lord *Churchill*.

' a Creature, that I never once dreamt of : his being King. Having never *read*, nor employed my time in any thing but playing at Cards ; and having no AMBITION myself, I imagined that the Prince of Orange's sole Design was to provide for the Safety of his own Country, by obliging King *James* to keep the Laws of Qurs ; and that he would go back as soon as he had made us all happy ; that there was no fort of Difficulty in the Execution of this Design, and that to do so much Good would be a greater Pleasure to him than to be King of any Country upon Earth.'

What a noble Specimen have we here of the *Marvel'ous* ? what striking Images surround us on every Side ? a Court-Lady govern'd only by Scruples in Religion ! a Favou-rite intent on nothing but Cards ! and Lady *Churchill* persuaded that State-measures had no other Spring than the public Good !

But, it seems your Grace did not continue long in these Court-Heresies. Your Words are, *I was soon taught to know the World better.*

better.' And very soon indeed your Conversion must have taken Place; for King James had no sooner been frightened into France by our *Deliverer*, but we find you an active Agent in settling the Throne, and the Princess submitting her Interest in it to your Influence, if not Direction, as a Person every way qualified to govern her in all Things. The whole Paragraph runs thus:

' It was insinuated, that, to make my Court to the King and Queen, I had influenced the Princess to forego her undoubted Rights. The Truth is, I did persuade her to consent to the Project of that Settlement, and to be *easy* under it, after it was made. But no regard to the King or Queen, nor any View of AMBITION, had the least Share in moving me to this Conduct, any more than to what inconsiderable Part I acted in the Business of the Revolution.'

Your Grace has here followed the Example of those First-rate Authors, who hint more than they express. It was not *Ambition*, it was not *Regard* to the King or

Queen, that induced you to act in this Man-
ner.

What then? why every Reader is left to
fill up the Blank as he pleases; and 'tis not till
Page 22. that we find it to be first *Patrio-*
tism, or for the sake of the *Public Welfare*,
that your Grace at first took a great deal of
Pains to PROMOTE your Mistress's Pretensions.
And then *Necessity*; for the Settlement would
have been thus carried in Parliament whe-
ther the Princess consented to it or no.

I cannot take Leave of this Page (22.)
without transcribing the first remarkable
Token of your Grace's Good-will to our
Great Deliverer, which needs no Com-
ment.

' I might, perhaps, wish it (*the Revolu-*
' *tion*) had been compassed by some other
' Man who had more Honour and Justice
' than he, who could depose his Father-in-
' law, and Uncle, to maintain *Liberty* and
' *Laws*, and then act the *Tyrant* himself in
' many Instances.'

But

But I have said Mrs. *Freeman* is the Heroine of your Grace's Drama, and that poor Mrs. *Morley* is forced to take up with an Under-part. Be pleased, Madam, only to read the following Passage without Prejudice, if possible, and be yourself the Judge, whether that Assertion is well founded, or not.

' *I* confess, had *I* been in her Place, *I*
 ' should have thought it more for my Ho-
 ' nour to be easy in this Matter, than to shew
 ' an *Impatience* to get Possession of a Crown
 ' that had been *wrested* from my Father.
 ' And, as it ought to have been a great Trouble
 ' to the Children of King *James* to be forced
 ' to act the Part they did against him, even
 ' for the Security of Liberty and Religion,
 ' (which was truly the Case) so it seemed to
 ' me, that she, who discovered the less Am-
 ' bition, would have the more amiable Cha-
 ' racter. However, as *I* was fearful about
 ' every thing the Princeſs did, while ſhe was
 ' thought to be advised by me, I could not
 ' ſatisfy my own Mind, till I had consulted
 ' with ſeveral Persons of undisputed Wif-

dom and Integrity, and particularly with the Lady *Russell* of Southampton-House, and Dr. *Tillotson*, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. I found them all unanimous in the Opinion of the *Expediency of the Settlement proposed, as things were then situated.* In Conclusion, therefore, I carried Dr. *Tillotson* to the Princess, and, upon what he said to her, she took care that no Disturbance should be made by her pretended Friends, the Jacobites; who had press'd her earnestly (as your Grace AT FIRST bad done) to form an Opposition:

The Princess is here charged with such Impatience to plume herself with the Spoils of her Father, that Lady *Churchill*, having alter'd her Mind, is forced to press the Church into the Service, in order to prevail with her to desist from her unnatural Pretensions: And how well this almost ungovernable Ambition tallies with the rest of her Highness's Conduct, as pictured by your Grace, will be sufficiently explain'd, when we come to examine those opposite.

opposite Features, which are here made a Part of the same Character.

We come now to the memorable Quarrel, as your Grace calls it, between the two Sisters, which you found principally, tho' not entirely, on the Queen's Command; and the Princess's Refusal, *to remove you from about her Person*, and then proceed thus.

' But no one, I think, can be so foolish as to imagine that the Queen's Dislike of me was only on account of my being the Wife of Lord Marlborough, who HAPPENED then to be in Disgrace with the King.'

Other Politicians, when they have commenc'd Authors, have indefatigably followed the Thread of every State-measure, to the inmost Recesses of the Cabinet: But, on the contrary, according to your Grace's System, Chance governs all, and Design is out of the Question. Thus the Princess's Flight to Nottingham was sudden and unconcerted, and now Lord Churchill HAPPENED to be in Disgrace: An Expression which you are so fond of, that in Page 55. you repeat it again.

But of this *fortuitous Disgrace* of his Lordship, we shall have occasion to treat more at large by and by.

At present, Madam, it is our Business to observe, that your Grace goes a little out of your Way, to discharge your Gall on the Memory of Good Queen MARY (for so she was stil'd by the Voice of the People) whose only Crime seems to have been, her not having the same Prejudices in your Favour, which rendered you so dear to the Princess of Denmark.

Your Charge against her, is, *That SHE WANTED Bowels*; in support of which you furnish us with the following curious Anecdote.

' I was one of those who had the Honour to wait on her to her own Apartment. She ran about it, looking into every Closet and *Conveniency*, and turning up the Quilts upon the Bed, as People do when they come into an Inn, and with no other sort of Concern in her Appearance, but such as they express; a Behaviour, which, though at that time I was extremely

' extremely careſſ'd by her, I thought very
 ' ſtrange and unbecoming. For, whatever
 ' Neceſſity there was of depoſing King James,
 ' he was ſtill her Father, who had been ſo
 ' ſo lately driven from that Chamber, and
 ' that Bed ; and if ſhe felt no Tenderness, I
 ' thought ſhe ſhould at leaſt have looked
 ' grave, or even pendiſively ſad, at ſo melan-
 ' choly a Revereſe of his Fortune.'

Your Grace muſt now give me Leaue to
 lay before you Bishop Burnet's Account of
 the ſaine Incident; which, without Doubt,
 had eſcap'd your Memory; or it is not to be
 ſuppoſed you would have ſo ſeverely cen-
 ſured a Princess, who, while ſhe liv'd, was
 ſincerely beloved, and, when ſhe died, was
 bitterly lamented by a whole People.

' It had been given out, ſays the Bishop,
 ' that ſhe was not well pleased with the late
 ' Transaction, both with Relation to her Fa-
 ' ther, and the preſent Settlement. Upon
 ' which the Prince wrote to her, that it was
 ' neceſſary ſhe ſhould appear, at firſt, ſo
 ' chearful, that no Body might be diſcou-
 ſaged by her Looks, or be led to apprehend
 ' that

that she was uneasy by Reason of what had
been done. This made her put on a great
Air of Gaiety when she came to *White-
hall*; and, as may be imagined, had great
Crouds of all Sorts coming to wait upon
her. I must confess, I was one of thoſe
who censured her in my Thoughts. I
thought, a little more Seriousness had done
as well, when she came into her Father's
Palace, and was to be ſet on her Father's
Throne next Day. I had never ſeen the
leat Indecency in any Part of her Deport-
ment before; which made this appear ſo
extraordinary, that ſome Days after I took
the Liberty to ask her, How it came, that
what ſhe ſaw in ſo ſad a Revolution, as to
her Father's Person, made not a greater
Impreſſion on her? She took this Freedom
with her usual Goodneſs; and ſhe assured
me, that ſhe felt the Sense of it very lively
upon her Thoughts. But ſhe told me, that
the Letters which had been writ to her,
had obliged her to PUT ON a Chearfulness,
in which ſhe might, perhaps, go too far,
because ſhe was OBEYING DIRECTIONS,
and

and ACTING A PART which was not
very NATURAL to her. Burnet Vol. I.
p. 285.

But this is not all that appears in History,
in Opposition to your Grace's Invective.
The same Author, in another Place, has
furnished us with the following Passage,
which agrees perfectly well with the foregoing.

' A Proposition was made to the King,
' that a Third-Rate Ship, well mann'd by a
' faithful Crew, and commanded by one who
' had been well with King James, but was
' such a one as the King might trust, might
' sail to Dublin and declare for King James.
' The Person who told me this offered to be
' the Man, that should carry the Message to
' King James (for he was well known to
' him) to invite him to come on Board,
' which he seemed to be sure he would ac-
' cept of; and, when he was aboard, they
' should sail away, and land him either in
' France, or Italy, as the King should de-
' sire, and should have Twenty thousand
' Pounds to give him when he should be set
' on

' on Shore. The King thought it was a well-form'd Design, and likely enough to succeed; but would not hearken to it: He said, he would have no Hand in Treachery, and King *James* would certainly carry some of his Guards and some of his Court on board with him, and probably they would make some Opposition; and in the Struggle some Accident might happen to King *James's* Person, in which he would have no Hand. I acquainted the Queen with this, and I saw in her a GREAT TENDERNESS for her Father's Person, and she was MUCH TOUCHED with the Answer the King had made,' *Vol. II. p. 47.*

I cannot take my Leave of the Bishop, without making one Quotation more, which yet farther indicates, that your Grace's peremptory Charge was rather the Effect of Prejudice and Passion, than a thorough Conviction.

' Both King and Queen were much affected with *Tillotson's* Death; the Queen for many Days spoke of him in the TENDEREST MANNER, and not without TEARS. *Ibid. p. 136.* Could

Could this have been the Case, if the Queen had WANTED BOWELS? ~~OR BLOWS?~~
 But we will not decide on the Bishop's Evidence, and the Charge shall be left open; till we find her Majesty, in the Sequel, answering for herself.

The next Remarkable that occurs in your Grace's Apology, is a Demand of certain Lodgings, *viz.* Those that had been the Duchess of *Portsmouth*'s for the Use of her Highness, which are readily granted. This is followed with a second Demand of other Apartments contiguous to the first, for the Conveniency of her Highness's SERVANTS. And here the Duke of *Devonshire* has the Misfortune to fall both under your Grace's Displeasure, and the Lash of your Wit; for having taken it into his Head, 'that could he have the Duchess of PORTSMOUTH's Lodgings, where there was a fine Room for Balls, 'it would give him a very magnificent Air.' In this Paragraph the Duke is made to aspire to the Duchess of PORTSMOUTH's Lodgings, already allotted to the Princess; in the next, it appears he puts in his Claim only to

those demanded for her Highness's SERVANTS.

I will repeat your Grace's own Words.
 After many Conversations upon the A-
 fair, the Queen told the Princess that *she*
could not let her have the Lodgings she de-
sired for her SERVANTS, till my Lord
Devonshire had resolved whether he would
have THEM, or a Part of the Cockpit?
 Upon which the Princess answered, *she*
*would then stay where she was, for *she**
would not have my Lord Devonshire's Leav-
ings. So she TOOK the Duchess of
 PORTSMOUTH'S APARTMENT, GRANTED
 HER AT FIRST, and used it for her
 Children, remaining herself at the Cock-
 pit.

Not to be too severe on the Escape hinted
 at above; your Grace has endeavoured to
 state this Trifle, as a Contest between the
 Duke of *Devonshire*, and the Princess of
Denmark, in which the King and Queen
 are made Partizans to the Duke: But in
 my humble Opinion, the Point to be deci-
 ded was, whether the SERVANTS of the
 KING, or those of the PRINCESS, should be

FIRST^t obliged: And that such was the Case no body, I believe, will dispute, when they are told that the Duke of *Devonshire* was then **LORD-STEWARD**; a Circumstance your Grace, as it appears, chose to forget, as not very favourable to the Case in Hand.

But the Princess had taken a Fancy to the House at *Richmond*, which was likewise refused: What wonder, after the disobliging Answer she had been *prompted* to make as above; and the as disobliging Circumstance of her continuing in her old Lodgings after she had both solicited and obtained *new*?

If a Personage of less Consequence than your Grace had published these frivolous Tales, they would have deserved no other Notice than Ridicule: But in your Hands they become of Importance; they are a chief Part of your Defence, and are meant to insinuate that there was a **Quarrel** subsisting between the two Sisters, before your Name was called in **Question**.

The Princess, however, seem'd to have forgot these Bickerings, and *continued to pay all imaginable Respect to the King and Queen*

Queen

Queen. -- This is your Grace's own Acknowledgment. -- After which you proceed thus.

' But this did not hinder her Majesty from
 ' expressing a great deal of Displeasure, when
 ' some Steps were made in Parliament to-
 ' wards settling a Revenue on the Prince and
 ' Princess. Taking her Sister one Night to
 ' Task for it, she asked her *what was the*
 ' Meaning of those Proceedings? To which the
 ' Princess answered, *she heard her FRIENDS*
 ' *had a Mind to make her some Settlement.* The
 ' Queen hastily replied with a very IMPE-
 ' RIous Air, *Pray what Friends have you*
 ' *but the King and Me?* I had not the Honour
 ' to attend the Princess that Night; but
 ' when she came back, she repeated this to
 ' me. And indeed I never saw her ex-
 ' press so much Resentment as she did at
 ' this Usage; and I think it must be allow-
 ' ed she had great Reason. For it was un-
 ' just in her Sister not to allow her a decent
 ' Provision, without an entire Dependence
 ' on the King. And besides, the Princess
 ' had in a short Time learnt that she must
 ' be very miserable, if she was to have no

' Support

• Support but the Friendship of the two
• Persons her Majesty had mentioned.

• After this the Queen said no more to
• the Princess on the Subject of the Settle-
• ment, though they met every Day ; and
• the Affair went on so well in the House
• of Commons, that her FRIENDS were
• encouraged to propose for her a much larger
• Revenue than was at last obtained ; to
• prevent which, by gaining Time, the King
• prorogued the Parliament.

• The Busines however was resumed a-
gain at the next Meeting ; and then all
possible Endeavours were used, to en-
gage ME by Flattery and by Fear, to dis-
suade the Princess from the Pursuit of a
Settlement. *Pag. 30.*

Here follows an *Interlude* between your Grace and Lady Fitzharding (which for fear of fatiguing my Readers, I will not recite) serving only to illustrate your Grace's steady Pursuit of this one Thing needful, this Parliamentary Settlement, in Defiance of the Ruin that both the Princess and you were

bid to expect as the Consequence : After which you amplify as follows.

' But all this, and a great deal more that
 ' was said, was so far from inclining me to
 ' do what was desired of me, that it only
 ' made me more anxious about the Success of
 ' the Princess's Affair, and more earnest, if
 ' possible, in the Prosecution of it. For, as
 ' I would have died, rather than have made
 ' my Court to that Reign by sacrificing the
 ' Interest of the Princess, so there was no-
 ' thing I dreaded more, than, by the least
 ' Appearance of Negligence, or Coldness in
 ' the present Cause, to give Ground to sus-
 ' pect me of having been flattered, or fright-
 ' ened into so base a Conduct. I employed
 ' therefore all the Powers I was capable of
 ' exerting to advance the Design. I knew
 ' the Thing was reasonable, the Princess's
 ' Happiness was concerned in it, and there
 ' was a fair Prospect of succeeding. Besides,
 ' I thought that whatever happened in Par-
 ' liament, the King could not well avoid
 ' giving some Allowance to the next Heir to
 ' the Crown. And, if he should give her
 ' nothing,

nothing, she had however by the Marriage-
 Settlement, 20,000*l.* a Year; which would
 keep her in a retired Way, much more a-
 greeably than she could hope to live at
 Court, if she depended on his Generosity;
 of which I had no Opinion: For the late
 Lord Godolphin had told me, that the King,
 on some Meeting at the Treasury, speaking
 of the Civil List, wondered very much how
 the Princess could spend 30,000*l.* a Year,
 though it appeared afterwards that some of
 his Favourites had more. And there were
 other Parts of the King's Conduct (which
 shall be mentioned in a proper Place) where-
 by it sufficiently appeared, that I did not
 mistake in my Opinion of his Disposition.

Pag. 32. 33, 34.

Ill-turned as I am for Panegyric, I cannot
 help going out of my Way to do Justice to
 your Grace's uncommon Merit, which here
 breaks out in its full Lustre; within the Com-
 pass of a Page and a half, in what a Variety
 of beautiful Lights does it appear! Your
 Ardour is but the more inflamed by Oppo-
 sition. —— Like a true Heroine, to carry
 C 2 your

your Point you are ready to face even Death itself. In case of a Miscarriage, you have the Sagacity to foresee Resource upon Resource. If all should fail, you give us to understand you were an excellent Housewife: And, you insinuate your own unexampled Generosity, by your Severity on King *William* for the Want of it.

But I return. — We are next entertained with an other Interlude between your Grace, and the Duke of *Shrewsbury*: in which that Lord offers her Highness 50000*l.* per *Annum* in the King's Name; and you most Complaisantly reject it, as not sufficiently secured by his MAJESTY's PROMISE.—The Princess is, at the same Time, taught to do the same; as likewise, to think it reasonable to see what her FRIENDS could do for her; and finally we are told, That the Princess carry'd her Point: And that * 50,000*l.* was settled by Parliament. You add,

‘ For when the King found that he could
‘ not persuade her to an entire Dependency
‘ upon

* Out of a Civil List of 600,000*l.* in those frugal Times thought sufficient: tho' encumber'd with the Stipend of the Queen Dowager; and 100,000*l.* to be raised out of it for the Duke of Schomberg.

upon him, he compounded the Matter with her FRIENDS upon these Terms, to hinder their insisting on a larger Settlement. The Parliament had shew'd an Inclination that Way : But it was at length thought advisable, by the Princess's FRIENDS, that she should accept of 50,000*l.* securely settled, rather than have any farther Struggle, considering the great Power and Inflaunce of the Crown, by Means of its Dependents.

‘ Nevertheless, I was so fearful lest the Princess should suffer for want of good Advice, that AFTER I had heard of the Commons voting 50,000*l.* a Year, I sent to speak with my Lord Rochester, and asked his Opinion, whether the Princess ought to be satisfied, or whether it was reasonable she should try to get more. (I did not then know how much his Heart was bent on making his Court to the Queen.) His Answer to me was, That he thought, not only that the Princess ought to be satisfied with 50,000*l.* but that she ought to have taken it in any Way the King

and Queen pleased. Which made me reflect, that he would not have liked that Advice in the Case of his own 4,000 £. a Year from the Post-office, settled on him and his Son.

But I was not so uncivil as to speak my Thought, nor so foolish as to struggle any longer. For most of those who had been PREVAILED with to promote the Settlement were Tories, among whom my Lord Rochester was a very * GREAT MAN. Their Zeal on the present Occasion was, doubtless, to thwart King William; for I never observed that, on any other, they discovered much Regard for the Princes of Denmark.

'Tis observable People never talk so copiously, as when they talk of themselves: Your Grace on this fruitful Subject seems to be all Tongue, and to expect the noble Lord you address to should be all Ear.—Thus Repetition flows on Repetition, Reflection on Reflection, and I had like to have said

Contra-

* Query, therefore, whether my Lord Rochester was not somewhat Instrumental in carrying this Settlement, as well as Lord and Lady Marlborough?

Contradiction on Contradiction. . . . The Parliament has one while an Inclination to enlarge the Settlement ; and at another, 'tis more advisable not to have any farther Struggle, because of the great Power and Influence of the Crown. Your Grace gravely consults Lord *Rochester*, whether the Princess should try for more ; and yet concludes it foolish to struggle any longer : You acknowledge this contested Settlement was carried by the Tories, and yet deny them the Merit of it, by representing it to be done out of Spleen to the King, not Affection to her Highness.

I cannot pass over this last Particular, without making use of a Hint that naturally rises from it ; which is this : Suppose, Madam, in Right of that Party you have every where made so free with, or in Behalf of any Individual that your Grace has serv'd up for the Entertainment of the Public, or in respect to the Memory of the two Royal Sisters, whose Ashes you have so unseasonably disturb'd, I should adopt this very Method of deciding on your Grace's Conduct,

which you yourself have us'd with so little Ceremony towards others ? Suppose, for Example, I should insist, that your Grace's first meddling in the Affairs of the Royal Family, and opposing the Settlement of the Crown upon the King for his Life, to the Prejudice of the Princess of *Denmark*, was not so much owing to your Zeal for the Rights of her Highness, as to the Forwardness of a young Favourite, who just found herself of some Importance, and was resolved to have it felt and acknowledged ? Suppose I should insist, that the Alteration of your Conduct in that respect, and your advising the Princess to wave her Claim, was not practised solely as a complying with the Tories, or the yielding with a Grace what could not be obtained ; But to give another Demonstration of your Ascendancy over your Royal Mistress, and, thereby, authorise both you and your Lord, not merely to sollicite, but to command Preferment ? Suppose I should insist, that, till one or both of you were disappointed of your Expectations, these Heart-burnings between the

two Sisters never broke out; and that in Reality, the Breach was to be plac'd entirely to your Account? Suppose I should insist, that the Lodgings to be wrested from the Duke of *Devonshire* for her Highness's SERVANTS, were demanded at your Instance, and principally for your Convenience? Suppose I should insist, that your stirring up a Party in the House of Commons to carry a Parliamentary Provision for the Princess, in Defiance of the King and Queen, and without any *previous Application* to either, which the Laws of Decorum rendered indispensable, was neither the Effect of your Zeal for the Interest of, nor Affection for, the Person of her Highness, but partly for the very Motive you are pleased to ascribe to the Tories, viz. To thwart King *William*, and partly to indulge the secret Pleasure, I do not care to give it a harsher Name, of appearing *necessary* to her, in whose Favour consisted your principal Importance? I say, Madam, suppose I was to reason and conclude in this Man-

her

ner, in whatever relates to your Grace's Conduct, am not I sufficiently justify'd by your own Example? But I neither claim, nor stand in need of any such Sanction: With whatever Art, Madam, you may think this Account of yours is drawn up; Truth, like Light, has almost every where found a Way to insinuate itself; and whoever will open their Eyes, may, if they please, have the Benefit of it.

We come now to the Use which was to be made of the Parliamentary Struggle in Behalf of her Highness: which is thus summ'd up by your Grace, in the following remarkable Paragraph:

' The Success of the Affair was chiefly imputed to the Steadiness and Diligence of my Lord *Marlborough* and ME, both by those, to whom it was so exceedingly disagreeable, and by her, to whose Happiness it was then so necessary.'

Here the Word *Friends* so often made use of by your Grace on this Occasion, and so well understood before, is at full explain'd: Yes, Lord and Lady *Churchill* are these Al-

mighty-FRIENDS, into whose Hands the Princess commits herself; and for whose Favour and Protection the King and Queen are not only dropt, but disobliged. . . . The poor Princess by herself, appears to be an inconsiderable Thing, without Weight, without Interest, without Consequence; but with Lord and Lady *Churchill* for her Supporters, carries all before her, and obliges our way-ward *Deliverer* himself to condescend to a Compromise.

History-Painters are particularly careful, to make their principal Figure the most conspicuous in the Groupe, and no Body can deny but your Grace has imitated this Craft of theirs to Admiration. Lord and Lady *Churchill*, in the Instance before us, rush forward to the Eye, distinguished with a full Blaze of Light, while her Highness is so covered with their Shadow, as to be scarce visible.

Your Grace set out with being her Play-fellow; your next Step was to be her Confident; and henceforward we must consider

sider you as her Governess; and, in her Right, the supreme Disposer of all Things.

And here it is impossible not to remark that, whereas most other Princes have been made a Prey to their Vices, it was the peculiar Fate of the illustrious Princess before us, to be made the Bubble of her Virtues: Thus an over-refin'd Idea of Friendship induc'd her to level the Barrier which Royalty of Birth had placed between her Highness and Lady Churchill; Gratitude for this mighty Service, (which 'tis to be presum'd your Grace did not fail to magnify as much to her then, as now to the World) obliged her, as it were, to give up her Affairs without Reserve, into the Hands of so notable a Manager; and a modest Distrust of her own Capacity, dispos'd her to be govern'd solely by yours.

Of her Condescension, all the Letters in general your Grace has BETRAY'D to the Public, are very sufficient Proofs: And what Notions she had of Gratitude appears from the Fragment which follows.

50 Aug: 1711 Brownfield
100
100

‘ I have

‘ I have had something to say to you a
 ‘ great while, and I did not know how to
 ‘ go about it. I have designed, ever since
 ‘ my Revenue was settled, to desire you would
 ‘ accept of a Thousand Pounds a Year. —
 ‘ I beg you would only look upon it as an Ear-
 ‘ nest of my Good-will, but never mention
 ‘ any Thing of it to me; for I shall be
 ‘ ashamed to have any Notice taken of such
 ‘ a Thing from one that deserves more than
 ‘ I shall ever be able to return?

And some Time afterwards, a little De-
 lay being made by her Treasurer in the
 Payment of it (of which it appears your
 Grace did not fail to complain) she wrote
 another Letter, wherein are these Words;
 ‘ Tis long since I mentioned this Thing to
 dear Mrs. Freeman. She has all the Rea-
 son in the World to believe I did not mean
 what I said, or that I have changed my
 Mind, which are both so ill Qualities, that
 I cannot bear you should have Cause to
 think your faithful Morley is capable of
 being guilty of either.

‘ The

' The Circumstances of my Family at
 ' this Time were not very great ; yet I was
 ' so far from catching at so free and large
 ' an Offer, that I could not persuade my-
 ' self to accept of it, till I had sent the first
 ' Letter to my Lord *Godolphin*, and con-
 ' sulted him upon the Matter. It was his
 ' Opinion, that there was no Reason in the
 ' World for me to refuse it. And perhaps
 ' no one else will think otherwise, who
 ' believes, as he did, that the settling of the
 ' Princess's Revenue had been *chiefly* owing
 ' to my Lord *Marlborough's* *indefatigable*
 ' *Industry*, and to MINE.

When I read this Passage first, I could scarce give Credit to my Eyes, I examin'd it over and over again, on the Supposition that I had mistaken your Meaning ; and, when there was no longer Room for any Doubt, could not help exclaiming aloud : What ! Lady CHURCHILL *scruple to accept a Thousand Pounds a Year* ? Impossible ! nor till I reflected that your Grace was born both to do and say extraordinary Things, could I put an End to my Astonishment.

It

It is to be wished however, Madam, that you had favoured us with the remarkable Piece of Court-Casuistry contained in that conscientious Epistle of yours to Lord Godolphin, and his Lordship's Answer; especially, as we must suppose it might have saved your Grace the Trouble of repeating what you had said in the next preceding Page but one, concerning your *indefatigable Industry* to serve her Highness.

I cannot take my Leave of your Grace on this Head, without reminding you of an Occurrence in the Reign of King James II. the Use and Application of which no Person better knows than yourself.

Not long after Lady Churchill was taken into the Service of the Princess of Denmark, her Highness had the Misfortune to find, that her Expences had exceeded her Income between 6 and 7000*l.* which they had never done before; and was forced to apply to her Royal + Father for that Sum to enable

+ This Fact is partly confirmed by the Princess's Letter to the Lady Marlborough, Account, p. 87.

able her to discharge her Debts ; which he readily and chearfully comply'd with. The next Year her Highness fell into the like Difficulty, was forc'd to make the like Application, and receiv'd the like Indulgence : but was, soon after, surpriz'd with a Visit from his Majesty, so sudden and unexpected, that Lady *Churchill* and a certain other Lady of her Highness's Court had but just Time enough to hide themselves in a Closet adjoining ; from whence they overheard the King, charging his Daughter with having *some body about her*, for whose sake she plunged herself into these Inconveniencies, and recommending to her a more exact Oeconomy for the future. To this the Princess made no Reply but with her Tears ; and the King being withdrawn, Lady *Churchill*, to pacify her for the present, and answer certain other obvious Ends, quitted the place of her Concealment, with the following decent Expressions in her Mouth : *Oh Madam ! all this is owing to that old R----- your Uncle* ; meaning Lord *Rochester*, then Lord-Treasurer ; but who afterwards ho-

nourably resign'd, and was succeeded by two *Popish* Lords, and Lord *Godolphin*, who held that Office in Commission.

The next Particular that occurs in your Grace's Account, is the Resolution taken by the Prince of *Denmark* to serve at Sea as a *Voluntier*; which, we are told, occasion'd a new Difference between the two Sisters: a Resolution wisely taken by the Prince, and as politicly oppos'd by the King. It was right in the Prince to distinguish himself; it was right in the King neither to be eclips'd nor rivall'd by the Husband of the presumptive Heirefs. The Queen was however to be the Agent in preventing it, not his Majesty: Upon which, not warn'd by your Grace's former Behaviour, she condescends again to apply to Lady *Churchill*, by sending, first, a great *Lord*, and then Lord *Rochester*, to desire that she would persuade the Princess to keep the Prince from going to Sea, &c. Which indicates, that even her Majesty considered her Sister as no better than your Grace's *Ward*; that as much Complaisance as the Princess had for

your Opinion, it was understood the Prince had for her's; and that, in Effect, you had the Management of both.

We now come to the grand Event of all, that separated the two Royal Sisters for the rest of their Lives; upon which your Grace having expatiated very largely, I shall be obliged, against my Will, to do the same.

' Notwithstanding all these Things (your Grace goes on) ' the Queen and Princess ' lived, in *Appearance*, for some Time after, ' as if nothing had happened, till the King ' was pleased (without PUBLICLY assigning ' any particular Reason) to remove my Lord ' Marlborough from all his Employments. ' His Majesty sent Lord Nottingham to tell ' him, that he had no more Occasion for his ' Service. This Event might perhaps be ' well enough accounted for, by saying, that ' Lord Portland had ever a great Prejudice ' to my Lord Marlborough, and that my ' Lady Orkney (then Mrs. Villiers) though ' I had never done her any Injury, except ' not making Court to her, was my impla- ' cable Enemy. But, I think, it is not to be.

‘ doubted, that the principal Cause of the
 ‘ King’s Message, was the Court’s Dislike
 ‘ that any Body should have so much Interest
 ‘ with the Princess as I had, who would not
 ‘ implicitly obey every Command of the
 ‘ King and Queen. The Disgrace of my Lord
 ‘ *Marlborough* therefore was designed as a
 ‘ Step towards removing me from about her.

‘ A Letter from the Queen to her Sister,
 ‘ which I shall presently give you, affords
 ‘ Ground for this Opinion. And the Beha-
 ‘ viour of my Lord *Rochester*, who was much
 ‘ in the Queen’s Favour and Councils, con-
 ‘ firms it. He had warmly opposed my
 ‘ coming into the *Princess’s Family*, and he
 ‘ now shewed himself very desirous to have
 ‘ me removed, believing, without Question,
 ‘ that, could this be compassed, he should in-
 ‘ fallibly have the Government of both
 ‘ Sisters: Though certainly, as to the Prin-
 ‘ cess, he never discovered any such *Regard*
 ‘ for her, as should give him a *Title* to her
 ‘ *Confidence.*

I cannot proceed to wait on your Grace
 any farther, till I have touched on an Escape
 beside [redacted] or

or two which you have made in the last Paragraph. You have, Madam, uniformly treated my Lord *Rochester* with all the Severity and Rancour you are Mistress of.—Behold the Reason explain'd by yourself. He *opposed* your coming into the Princess's Family, and was *desirous* to have you *removed*. This might be Fact: But why did he oppose your coming in, or desire your Removal? You answer, That he might have the *Government* of both Sisters. Here your Grace tacitly, though inadvertently, acknowledges you had the *Government* of *ONE*; And yet in the same Breath declare, *He never discovered any such Regard to her, as should give him a Title to her Confidence*; which is just as reasonable as to say, That he travelled to *York*, without stirring a Step of the Way.

Your Grace proceeds, *Page 44.* ‘ But to come to the Sequel of the King’s Message. ‘ I solemnly protest, that the Loss of my ‘ Lord *Marlborough’s* Employments would ‘ never have broke my Rest one single Night ‘ upon Account of *Interest*; but, I confess, ‘ the being turned out is something very dis-
agreeable

agreeable to my Temper. And, I believe
 it was three Weeks, before my best Friends
 could persuade me, that it was fit for me
 to go to a Court, which (as I thought)
 had used my Lord *Marlborough* very ill.
 However at last they prevailed. And I re-
 member the chief Argument was urged by
 my Lord *Godolphin*, who said, that it could
 not be thought, I made any mean Court to
 the King and Queen, since to attend the
 Princess, was only paying my Duty where
 it was owing.

Three remarkable Things occur in this
 Passage : One apocryphal ; That the Loss of
 Lord *Marlborough*'s Employments gave your
 Grace no Pain on account of *Interest*. One
 indisputable ; that the *being turned out* was
 very disagreeable to your Temper. And one
 extremely artificial ; that you were over-per-
 suaded to go to Court by your Friends. All
 of which will be sufficiently explained by the
 Sequel.

I waited therefore (your Grace goes on)
 on my Mistress to *Kensington*. The Conse-
 quence was such, as my Friends, having no

Reason to apprehend it, had never thought of. The next Day the Queen wrote to her Sister the following Letter.

Kensington, Friday, the 5th of Feb.

Having something to say to you, which I know will not be very pleasing, I chuse rather to write it first, being unwilling to surprise you; though, I think, what I am going to tell you should not, if you give yourself the Time to think, that never any Body was suffered to live at Court in my Lord Marlborough's CIRCUMSTANCES. I need not REPEAT the CAUSE he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his Unwillingness at all Times to come to such Extremities, though People do DESERVE it.

I hope, you do me the Justice to believe, it is as much against my Will, that I now tell you, that, after this, it is very unfit Lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her Husband so just a Pretence of being where he ought not'.

I think,
D

' I think, I might have expected you
 ' should have spoke to me of it. And the
 ' King and I, both *believing* it, made Us
 ' stay thus *long*. But seeing you was so far
 ' from it, that you brought Lady *Marlbo-*
rough hither last Night, makes Us resolve
 ' to put it off no longer, but tell you, she
 ' must not stay; and that I have all the Rea-
 ' son imaginable to look upon your bringing
 ' her, as the *strangest Thing* that ever was
 ' done. Nor could all my Kindness for you
 ' (which is ever ready to turn all you do the
 ' best Way) at any other Time have hindred
 ' me shewing you that Moment; but I con-
 ' sidered your *Condition*, and that made me
 ' master myself so far, as not to take Notice
 ' of it then.

' But now I must tell you, it was very *un-*
 ' *kind* in a Sister, would have been very *un-*
 ' *civil* in an Equal, and I need not say I
 ' have *more* to claim. Which, though my
 ' Kindness would make me never exact, yet
 ' when I see the Use you would make of it,
 ' I must tell you, I know what is due to me,

and expect to have it from you. 'Tis upon
that Account, I tell you plainly, Lady Marl-
borough must not continue with you in the
Circumstances her Lord is.

' I know this will be *uneasy* to you, and
' I am *sorry* for it; and it is *very much so* to
' me to say all this to you, for I have all the
' *real Kindness* imaginable for you, and as I
' ever have, so will always do my *Part* to
' live with you as Sisters ought. That is,
' not only like so *near Relations*, but like
' *Friends*. And, as such, I did think to
' write to you. For I would have made
' myself believe your Kindness for her, made
' you at first *forget* That you should have
' for the King and me; and resolved to put
' you in mind of it myself, neither of Us
' being willing to come to *harsher Ways*.

' But the Sight of Lady *Marlborough*
' having changed my Thoughts, does natu-
' rally alter my Stile. And since by that I
' see how little you seem to consider what
' even in *common Civility* you owe Us, I
' have told it you plainly; but withal assure
' you, that let me have never so much Rea-

' son

son to take any Thing ill of you, my *Kindness* is so great, that I can pass over most Things, and live with you, as becomes me. And I desire to do so merely from that Motive. For I *do love you*, as my *Sister*, and nothing but yourself can make me do otherwise. And that is the Reason I chuse to write this, rather than tell it you, that you may *overcome your first Thoughts*; and when you have well considered, you will find, that though the Thing be hard, (which I again assure you I am *sorry for*), yet it is not *unreasonable*, but what has ever been practised, and what *you yourself would do, were you in my Place.*

I will end this with once more desiring you to consider the Matter *impartially*, and take *Time* for it. I do not desire an Answer *presently*, because I would not have you give a *rash* one. I shall come to your Drawing-Room To-morrow before you play, because you know why I cannot make one: At some other Time we shall reason the Business *calmly*; which I will willingly do, or any Thing else that may shew,

shew, it shall never be my *Fault* if we do
not live *kindly* together: Nor will all I ever
be other by *Choice*, but your truly *loving*
and *affectionate Sister*,

M. R.

I have not only transcribed this most reasonable Letter of the Queen's at Length, but distinguished such Passages in it with a different Character as turn upon the *Circumstances* of Lord *Marlborough* at that Time; the Sense of the Queen upon seeing his Lady accompanying her own Sister to Court; her Majesty's Regret in imposing what she herself complaisantly calls a Hardship; the Moderation she shews in so often recommending her Sister to take Time to pause upon her Answer; and the many tender Expressions which prove undeniably that her Majesty did not WANT Bowels.

But how reasonably the Queen acted upon the Whole, will be seen yet more plainly, by making something of a Search into the *Circumstances* of Lord *Marlborough*'s happening to be in *Disgrace*: An Incident, which

your

your Grace seems to have dropt by way of Episode only.

According to a former Quotation it appears, Madam, you sometimes think it may be accounted for by Lord *Portland's* having a Prejudice to his Lordship, and Lady *Orkney* to your Grace. Sometimes *that any Body should have so much Interest with the Princess as you*, who would not implicitly obey every Command, &c. (in which Light you are induc'd to look upon his Disgrace as *a Step to your own*) and, sometimes you insinuate, that, as the (*a*) King assign'd no Cause for it, no Cause could be assign'd.

As, therefore, we receive but little Satisfaction from your Grace on this Head, we must next refer to the Accounts given by other Authors ; and of these the two first, Bishop *Burnet* and Mr. *Lediard*, may be look'd upon rather as the Duke's Advocates than his Historians.

' Various were the Causes,' says Mr. *Lediard*, ' which were assign'd for this sudden Change, according to the Affections People bore him; and some Stories were divulged

(a) Account, p. 64.

vulged to his Disadvantage, tho' with little or no Grounds. His Lordship's Loyalty could not well be arraigned by his worst Enemies: He lov'd his Country too well to be Male-content with his King, tho' remov'd out of his Favour, without his Deserts: And it is evident, he could be no Ways engaged in the Interest of his former Master; since, in this very same Year, when King *James* was about to invade *England*, and a formal Declaration was privately handed about in his Name, with a Pardon annexed, for those who should return to their Duty, the Duke of *Marlborough*, by the Title of Lord *Churchill*, was excepted out of this Pardon. When he retired, which was with the Calmness of the old *Roman Dictator*, he wished to be succeeded by a better Servant, and one more concerned for Majesty's Honour.'

Some, who pretended to look narrowly into Affairs, would have his Disgrace owing to Jealousies certain Foreigners had conceived, of his not being inclined to their

In-

Interests, and to make Way for one of
 them (by some said to be Count *Solmes*)
 to command in his Room ; but this could
 only affect his Employment abroad. The
 Proofs he had given of his consummate
 Knowledge in Military Affairs shewed,
 that his Majesty's *English* Subjects merited
 the highest Posts in the Army ; tho', it
 has been observed, they were not enough
 countenanced by the King. It was said,
 that all the Resentment was, for the Li-
 berty he had taken to tell the King, *That*
tho' himself bad no Reason to complain, yet
 many of his good Subjects were sorry to
 see his Royal Munificence confin'd to one or
 two Foreign Lords. Foreign Historians
 make no Scruple to name the Earls of
Portland and *Rochford*, both *Dutchmen*,
 to be the Lords here aimed at : And add,
 that the King turned his Back upon the
 Earl, without making any Answer, and
 soon after sent him a Dismission of all his
 Employes, and forbade him the Court.
 Those who ascribe the Jealousy or Envy
 of Foreign Officers, as a Reason for his
 Lord-

“ Lordship’s Disgrace, think it a Confirmation of their Opinion, that the Earl was “ not employ’d again, nor call’d to Coun- “ cil till this Motive ceased, and an End was “ put to the War, by the Peace of *Ryswick*.

“ A Passage of a late Author (Bishop *Burnet*) seems likewise, to justify this Opinion. “ The King (says this Author) “ was thought to love the *Dutch* more than “ the *English*, to trust more to them, and “ to admit them to more Freedom with “ him. He gave too much Occasion to a “ general Disgust, which was spread, both “ among the *English* Officers, and the No- “ bility. He took little Pains to gain the “ Affections of the Nation; nor did he con- “ strain himself enough to render his Go- “ vernment more acceptable. He was “ shut up all the Day long; and his Silence, “ when he admitted any to an Audience, “ distasted them as much, as if they had “ been denied it. The Earl of *Marlborough* “ thought, that the great Services he had “ done, were not acknowledged nor reward- “ ed, as they well deserved, and began to “ speak

“ speak like a Man discontented. The
 “ Strain of all the Nation almost was, that
 “ the *English* were overlooked, and the
 “ *Dutch* were the only Persons favoured or
 “ trusted.”

‘ Notwithstanding this Observation of our
 ‘ Author, which was made upon another
 ‘ Occasion, he assigns another Reason for
 ‘ the Earl’s Disgrace: It may not be amiss
 ‘ to give my Readers his Account of it in
 ‘ his own Words :

“ An Incident (continues the Bishop) hap-
 “ pened, near the End of the Session of Par-
 “ liament, that had very ill Effects, which
 “ I unwillingly mention, because it cannot
 “ be told without some Reflections on the
 “ Queen, whom I always honoured, be-
 “ yond all the Persons I had ever known.
 “ The Earl of Nottingham came to the Earl
 “ of Marlborough, with a Message from
 “ the King, telling him, that he had no
 “ more Use for his Service, and therefore
 “ he demanded all his Commissions. What
 “ drew so sudden and so hard a Mes-
 “ sage was not known; for he had
 “ been

" been with the King that Morning, and
 " had parted with him in the ordinary
 " Manner. IT SEEMED SOME LETTER
 " WAS INTERCEPTED, WHICH GAVE
 " SUSPICION. It is certain, that he thought
 " he was too little consider'd, and that he
 " had, upon many Occasions, censured the
 " King's Conduct, and reflected on the
 " Dutch. But the original Cause of his
 " Disgrace arose from another Considera-
 " tion: The Princess (*Ann of Denmark*)
 " thought herself too much neglected by
 " the King, whose cold Way towards her
 " was soon observed: After the King was
 " on the Throne, no Propositions were made
 " to her of a Settlement, nor any Advances
 " of Money: So she, thinking she was to
 " be kept in a necessitous Dependance on
 " the Court, got some to move in the *House*
 " of *Commons*, in the Year 1690. when they
 " were in the Debate concerning the Re-
 " venue, *that she should have Assignments*
 " *suitable to her Dignity*. This both the
 " King and Queen took amiss from her,
 " the Queen complained, more particular-

" ly

" ly, that she was then ill, after her Lying-
 " in of the Duke of Gloucester, at *Hampton-*
 " *Court*, and that she herself was treating
 " her, and the young Child, with the Ten-
 " derness of a Mother, and that yet such
 " a Motion was made, before she had
 " tried, in a *private Manner*, what the
 " King intended to assign her. The Prin-
 " cefs, on the other Hand, said, She knew
 " the Queen was a good Wife, submissive
 " and obedient to every thing that the King
 " desired ; so she thought the best was to
 " have a Settlement by *Act of Parliament*.
 " On the other Hand, the Custom had al-
 " ways been, that the Royal Family (a
 " Prince of *Wales* not excepted) was kept
 " in a Dependance on the King, and had no
 " Allowance, but from his meer Favour
 " and Kindness ; yet, in this Case, in which
 " the Princess was put out of the Succession,
 " during the King's Life, it seem'd reason-
 " able, that somewhat more than ordinary
 " should be done in Consideration of that.
 " The Act passed, allowing her a Settle-
 " ment of fifty thousand Pounds : But up-

" on this, a Coldness followed between,
 " not only the King, but even the Queen
 " and the Princess ; and the Blame of the
 " Motion was cast on the Countess of Marl-
 " borough, as most in Favour with this
 " Princess : And this had contributed much
 " to alienate the King from her Husband,
 " and had dispos'd him to receive ill Im-
 " pressions of him.

" Upon his Disgrace, his Lady was for-
 " bid the Court. The Princess would not
 " submit to this ; she thought, she ought
 " to be allowed to keep what Persons she
 " pleased about herself ; and when the
 " Queen insisted on the Thing, she retired
 " from the Court. There were, no doubt,
 " ill Offices done on all Hands, and there
 " were some that pressed the Princess to
 " submit to the Queen, as well as others
 " who pressed the Queen to pass it over ;
 " but without Effect : Both had engaged
 " themselves, before they had well reflected
 " on the Consequences of such a Breach :
 " And the Matter went so far, that the
 " Queen ordered, that no publick Ho-
 " nours

" hours should be shewed the Princess, besides many other less Matters, which I unwillingly reflect on, because I was much troubled to see the Queen carry such a Matter so far ; and the Breach continued to the End of her Life. The *Enemies* of the Government tried what could be made of this, to create *Distractions* among us ; but the Princess gave no Encouragement to them : So that this Misunderstanding had no other Effect, but that it gave Enemies much ill-natur'd Joy, and a secret, spiteful Diversion."

Thus this Author makes the original Cause of the Earl's Disgrace, to be an Incident which happened *two Years* before ; tho' during those *2 Years* the King shewed no *Sign* of it ; but, on the contrary, gave him all Marks of his *Esteem*, and of the high Opinion he had of his Capacity. Perhaps this might co-operate with the other Reasons alledged ; and tho' the King might, during that Time, stifle his Resentment on this Account, in Consideration of his great Services ; yet, when fired by new

' Causes of Displeasure, or, at least, what
 ' he thought so, it might break a-new in-
 ' to a Flame, and help to determine his
 ' Majesty to proceed in this Manner. The
 ' Author of the Continuation of *Rapin*, tho'
 ' he mentions another Reason, which I shall
 ' likewise take Notice of below, seems also
 ' to be of Opinion, that this was the real,
 ' or at least principal Cause of his Disgrace.
 ' His Lady underwent the same Fate, and
 ' was likewise forbid the Court; which
 ' her Royal Highness, the Princess of *Den-*
 ' *mark*, thought a great Hardship upon her.
 ' She complained of it to the Queen; but,
 ' having no Satisfaction given her, she re-
 ' tired herself from Court, 'till after the
 ' Death of the Queen.

' It was observed, that the Morning be-
 ' fore the Earl's Disgrace, he waited upon
 ' the King to introduce Lord *George Ha-*
 ' *milton*, now Earl of *Orkney*, to his Ma-
 ' jesty; and met with a most favourable Re-
 ' ception: But that very Afternoon, the
 ' same Lord *George Hamilton* was, as I
 ' have been inform'd by a Gentleman of

Worth, not only sent to acquaint his
 Lordship, that the King had no farther
 Occasion for his Service, but succeeded
 him as Colonel of a Regiment of Fus-
 leers. Notwithstanding all that has been
 said above, this sudden Change in the
 Mind of the King makes it reasonable to
 believe, that some *unforeseen* Incident
 at least blew up the Coals, at this Time,
 if it was not the sole Occasion of his Ma-
 jesty's Displeasure.

There has indeed been yet another
 Reason assign'd for it; (*which tho' in print,*
your Grace takes no notice of) but with what
 Grounds I shall not pretend to determine,
 viz. That the Earl had revealed to his
 LADY a SECRET, which his Majesty had
 entrusted him with: The Author of the
 Continuation of *Rapin* names this Secret,
 and says it was a private Design on Dun-
 kirk; which it was pretended the Coun-
 tess discovered to Sir *Theophilus Ogle-*
thorp's Lady. As there was such a De-
 sign form'd about this Time, which mis-
 carried; and it would not have been so
 very decent, either for the King, or the

Ministry, to have own'd either of the other Reasons, which I have mentioned above ; it may not be unnatural to suppose, that whether the Earl or his Lady ever had, or had not, let drop any Expressions, tending to a Discovery of this Matter, that it may have been made use of as an Excuse to cover the real Reasons of their Disgrace.

To all this we find added, both by Tradition and secret History, that a Design had actually been form'd upon *Dunkirk*, which but four Persons in *England* were privy to : the King, Lord *Marlborough*, and two more ; that one of these four communicated the Secret to his Wife, who, as it was said, told it to Lady for what she could get : That in consequence the said Design miscarried, and those concern'd in it abroad were hang'd : That upon this, the King sent for his three Confidants ; and, having, with some Trouble, found out the *Leak*, express'd himself upon the Occasion, in his dry Way, as follows, *My Lord, you have put a greater Trust in your Wife, than I did in mine.*

It is moreover well known, that the very Year in which Lord *Marlborough* HAP-PEN'D to be disgraced, it was universally affirmed abroad, and understood at home, that certain great Men had made their Peace with King *James*, on the Condition of inducing the Nation to return to their former Obedience: It was even whispered that a certain Admiral (then believed to be as much in the Interest of King *William* as Lord *Marlborough* himself, and afterwards renowned for a signal Victory over the *French*) was likewise one of the Confederacy; which gave occasion to the ingenious Author of *Gulliver's Travels* to insinuate, that he had obtained that Victory (for want of proper Intelligence) when he was actually under an Engagement to betray the very Fleet entrusted to his Command.

Now, Madam, notwithstanding the Exception to Lord *Marlborough* in the general Pardon, quoted above by Mr. *Lediard*, his Lordship's Name was said to be on this List of Converts, as well as the Admiral's; and the same thing was afterwards averr'd by

poor Sir *John Fenwick*, who fell a Sacrifice to his own indiscreet Confessions : All which was yet farther confirmed by a *Welch Gentleman* of Distinction, whose Name I chuse to conceal for his Family's Sake, then an Exile at St. *Germain's*, and who persisted in the Truth of it to his dying Day.

Were I to exercise the like Severity, which your Grace has done on much slighter Occasions, very home Conclusions might, perhaps be drawn from these Premisses : But, however provoked, I shall make no other Use of them, than to explain Lord *Marlborough's Circumstances* with respect to the King, as hinted at in her Majesty's Letter; or his *HAPPENING* to be in Disgrace according to the favourite Phrase of his D—r.

His Lordship's said *Circumstances* may, upon the whole Evidence, then be summ'd up as follow.

His Lordship had once already changed Sides ; his Lordship had openly expressed his Disgust on seeing Foreigners more confided in, than himself. His Lordship had joined with his Lady and the Tories, in the Case

of the Princess. His Lordship had been trusted with a Secret, which had been betrayed: And Intelligence, no matter whether true, or false, had escaped from St. Germain's, that his Lordship was actually in a Treaty to restore his old Master.

On the other Hand, the King while Prince of *Orange*, had seen enough to put him early on his Guard, against all Combinations among his Nobility: He knew he was not possessed of the Hearts of his People. He had Evidence enough, that Designs were continually forming against him, and tho' he lov'd to visit, he had no Inclination to take up his Residence in *Holland*.

Whether, therefore, 'Lord Marlborough was justly suspected or not; the King at such a Crisis, had very sufficient Reason for no longer trusting, and even taking care to secure so dangerous a Man: which leads me to the Queen's Share in this controverted Transaction.

By her Majesty's Phrase to her Sister, *I need not REPEAT the CAUSE he has given the King to do what he has done*, it appears plainly

plainly enough, that this Cause was not unknown to the Princess; and 'tis very remarkable that her Highness, in her Answer, does not urge one Word in his Lordship's Defence.

But 'tis necessary to insert the Letter itself.

Your Majesty was in the right to think your Letter would be very surprizing to me. For you must needs be sensible enough of the Kindness I have for my Lady Marlborough, to know that a Command from you to part with her must be the greatest Mortification in the World to me; and indeed of such a Nature, as I might well have hoped your Kindness to me would have always prevented. I am satisfied *SHE cannot have been guilty of any Fault to you.* And it would be extreamly to her Advantage, if I could here repeat every Word that ever she had said to me of you in her whole Life. I confess, it is no small Addition to my Trouble to find the Want of your Majesty's Kindness to me upon this Occasion; since I

am

‘ am sure I have always endeavoured to de-
‘ serve it by all the Actions of my Life. ~ ~ ~
‘ Your Care of my present Condition is
‘ extremely obliging. And if you would
‘ be pleased to add to it so far, as, upon my
‘ Account, to recal your severe Command
‘ (as I must beg Leave to call it in a Mat-
‘ ter so tender to me, and so little reason-
‘ able, as I think, to be imposed upon me,
‘ that you would scarce require it from the
‘ meanest of your Subjects) I should ever
‘ acknowledge it as a very agreeable Mark
‘ of your Kindness to me. And I must as
‘ freely own, that as I think this Proceed-
‘ ing can be for no other Intent than to
‘ give me a very sensible Mortification, so
‘ there is no Misery that I cannot readily
‘ resolve to suffer, rather than the Thoughts
‘ of parting with her. If after all this that
‘ I have said, I must still find myself so un-
‘ happy as to be farther pressed in this Mat-
‘ ter, yet your Majesty may be assured, that
‘ as my past Actions have given the greatest
‘ Testimony of my Respect both for the
‘ the King and you, so it shall always be my
‘ Endeav-

' Endeavour, wherever I am, to preserve it
 ' carefully for the Time to come, as be-
 ' comes

' Your MAJESTY's

From the Cockpit,
 Feb. 6th 1692.

' very affectionate Sister

' T'is good duty to you and Servant,

Anne

The Princess, without doubt, held the Pen
 on this Occasion : But, as she was then pos-
 sess'd by your Grace, I shall make no Scru-
 ple to presume that you was the *Dictatress*.
 'Tis otherwise, not to be accounted for, that
 she should utterly depart from that Exacti-
 tude of Good-breeding, which, in every other
 Occurrence, distinguished her as much as the
 Crown she afterwards wore. Instead of
 which, in the Case before us, she is *led*
 not only to violate the Laws of Deco-
 rum in making a Visit to her Sister and
 her Queen, with the Wife of an obnox-
 ious Person in her Train, which, as her
 Majesty justly stiles it, was the *strang-*

est

est Thing that ever was done; but, when charged with this inconsiderate Step in the mildest and most affectionate Terms, never deigns to return one Syllable of Excuse, or Apology for it: But, on the contrary, insists that Lady Marlborough has been guilty of no Fault, and, therefore, she will endure all Extremities rather than part with her. This, in short, is the Substance of her Highness's Letter; and if this does not breathe all the impetuous Spirit of one who has been rash enough to say in Print, + I could not endure to have her do any thing that I would not have done in her PLACE, there is no such thing as Character or Manner to distinguish one Person from another.

I must then again beg leave, Madam, to consider this Letter as yours, and not the Princess's; and likewise, to take Notice that your Grace, having saddled your Friends with the Insult of your Visit to Court, while your Lord HAPPEN'D to be in Disgrace, loses no Time in saying any one plausible Thing to palliate it; but leaving them to answer

for

for themselves as they may, hurries on to the Queen's Attempt to *turn you out*; that grand Article which had something in it so abhorrent to your *Temper*.

But, before we are deafen'd by the Heat and Impatience of your Grace on that Account, it may be necessary, as 'tis certainly most decent, to lend an Ear to what may be said for her Majesty: *Viz.*

That in the critical Situation of King *William*, he could not be too vigilant against the Designs of his Enemies. That, in consequence of the Intelligence he had then receiv'd, I say again, whether true or false, it behoved him to be before-hand with those who were caballing against him. That it was of Importance to him that his People should believe he proceeded to Severities with no Person without sufficient Cause. That for the Princess to countenance those he had disgraced, argued, that either she design'd by that Step to have them thought innocent, or that she herself, which is not to be imagined, espoused their Proceedings. That the Queen, as she ought to be, was entirely in the Interest

rest of her Husband. That in this, as in every other Affair, (notwithstanding your Grace takes such Pains to signify he was, during a great Part of this Quarrel, in *Flanders*) she governed herself by his * Command. That the Discarding Lady *Marlborough*, of whatever Importance she had made herself, was a Trifle, in Comparison to the probable Consequences of a † Breach between the two Sisters. And that tho' any other Lady might not have been involved in the Guilt of her Husband, it was impossible to think so of Lady *Marlborough*, because it was well known she governed her Lord in all Things.

And now for your Grace.— But how is it possible to follow you thro' that Maze of Cavils, Reproaches, Expostulations, Complaints, Invectives, Pleadings, Passions, &c. with which almost every Period, for several

Pages

* As appears most evidently by her Return to the Prince's Message in her last Illness, *That the KING would send an Answer the next Day*. Account, *Page 3.*

† Which is even witnessed by her Grace herself. 'Two or three Jacobite Ladies also came to her; because (as it was easy to observe) all of that Interest rejoiced much at the Quarrel.' *Ibid, p. 49.*

Pages successively is entangled? — Yes, you comment upon your Grievances, recapitulate your Services, upbraid the Queen with an Alteration of Sentiments towards you, without the least Hint that it was occasion'd by a Change of Manners in you; and call upon Heaven and Earth to witness, how *hard* it was that even Kings and Queens should presume to *turn you out*, when they had all the Reason in the World to know how ill you would take it at your Hands. — One would almost think the Fate of an Empire was depending, or even that the good Genius of the World was taking its final Leave!

But, in the Midst of all, your Grace is still yourself, and manage Matters so dexterously, that the very Gates of Hell cannot prevail against you.—The King thunders, the Queen orders you to remove from the *Cockpit*; but, rather than comply, the poor Princess is induced to remove herself, tho' resolved to do every Thing respectful to the King and Queen, except in the *only Thing* required of her. So certain it is, that *evil Communication corrupts good Manners!*

But

But this very extraordinary Step of her Highness's, was prefac'd by a Letter to the Queen, which was as follows.

' I am very sorry to find that all I have
 ' said my self, and my Lord Rochester for
 ' me, has not had effect enough to keep
 ' your Majesty from persisting in a Resolu-
 ' tion, which you are satisfied must be so
 ' great a Mortification to me, as, to *avoid*
 ' it, I shall be *obliged to retire*, and deprive
 ' myself of the Satisfaction of living where I
 ' might have frequent Opportunities of as-
 ' furing you of that Duty and Respect, which
 ' I always have been, and shall be desirous to
 ' pay you upon all Occasions.

' My only Consolation in this Extremity
 ' is, that, not having done any Thing in all
 ' my Life to deserve your Unkindness, I hope
 ' I shall not be long under the Necessity of
 ' absenting myself from you : the Thought
 ' of which is so uneasy to me, that I find
 ' myself too much indisposed to give your
 ' Majesty any farther Trouble at this Time.

It is remarkable, that tho' the Princess in this Letter acknowledges the good Offices of her Uncle the Lord *Rochester*, in her Behalf to the Queen, your Grace endeavours to explain them away; which charitable Attempt of yours has no other apparent Foundation, but that his Lordship excused himself from carrying her Highness's first Letter to the Queen, in which appeared so little Affection or Regard to her Majesty, and so strong an Infatuation with Respect to your Grace. A Proceeding, in my humble Opinion, not only blameless, but highly laudable; in as much as it was an Office which became none but her Highness's worst Enemy, except in her Service and therefore obliged to obey her Commands, to undertake.

As to your Grace's happy Sneers at a *Plot* hid in a *Flower-Pot*, and *Young*'s being held by the *Court-Lawyers* an *irreproachable* Witness, in the Case of your Lord, because he had not *lost his Ears*, if they raise a Laugh, I suppose it is all they were inserted for: and if one Bishop, for his own Sake, as being accused of being one of the *Conspirators*,

tors, has discredited Lord *Marlborough*, together with the other Peers, said to be in the same Association ; and if another (*Burnet*) for the Sake of Truth, has done the same, neither of them has been hardy enough to make this Forgery of *Young's* a Device of the Government's, or represent it was countenanced by a Secretary of State, according to the Assertion of your Grace. (My Lord *Romney*, Secretary of State, had sent to one *Young*, &c. in order to make him what they call a *legal Evidence*.) So that this strange Circumstance rests solely on your Grace's single Authority, and will be swallowed, or not, according to the Credulity of your Readers.

Your Grace is pleased to add, p. 65. ' My Lord *Devonshire*, my Lord *Bradford*, and the late Duke of *Montagu*, thought it infamous to send my Lord *Marlborough* to Prison upon such Evidence ; and therefore when the Warrant for his Commitment came to be sign'd at the Council-table, they refused to put their Hands to it, though at that Time they had no particular Friendship for him.'

Infamous is a broad Word, Madam, and

neither authorized by these Lords refusing to sign the Commitment, nor the Fact itself, as I have already made appear. —— But your Grace's Passions seem to be Proof against Time itself!

This important Incident of Lord *Marlborough's* Commitment, gives Place to an epistolary Correspondence between her Highness and your Grace. *One Side* of which you have been pleased to lay before the Public, as likewise *one Motive* for so doing, *viz.*

' To give us a more lively *Impression* of
 ' the *Cruelty* of the Queen's Command, that
 ' enjoined her Sister to part with a Friend so
 ' dear to her *Heart*, merely to gratify the
 ' Royal *Pride* in a *Point of Ceremony*.'

With what Candour and Ingenuity, Madam, you have stated the Question ! and how worthy you have painted yourself of those passionate Expressions in the Letters following ! p. 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72.

To Lady Marlborough.

' Though I have nothing to say to my dear
 ' Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot help enquiring how
 ' she and her Lord does. If it be not conve-
 ' nient

' nient for you to write, when you receive this,
 ' either keep the Bearer till it is, or let me
 ' have a Word or two from you by the next
 ' Opportunity when it is easy to you ; for I
 ' would not be a Constraint to you at any
 ' Time, much less now, when you have so
 ' many Things to do, and think of. All I
 ' desire to hear from you at such a Time as
 ' this, is, that you and your's are well ;
 ' Which, next to having my Lord *Marlbo-*
 ' *rough* out of his ENEMIES Power, is the
 ' best News that can come to her, who, to
 ' the last Moment of her Life, will be dear
 ' Mrs. *Freeman's.*

To *Lady Marlborough.*

' I give dear Mrs. *Freeman* a thousand
 ' Thanks for her kind Letter, which gives
 ' me an Account of her Concerns ; and that
 ' is what I desire more to know than any
 ' other News. I shall reckon the Days and
 ' Hours, and think the Time very long till
 ' the Term is out, for both your Sake and
 ' my Lord *Marlborough's*, that he may be at
 ' Liberty, and your Mind at Ease. You do
 ' not say any Thing of your Health, which

makes me hope you are well, at least, not
 worse than when you were here. And,
 dear Mrs. Freeman, don't say when I
 can see you, if I come to Town; there-
 fore I ask what Day will be most conve-
 nient to you? For, though all Days are
 alike to me, I should be glad you would
 name one, because I am to take some Phy-
 sick, and would order that accordingly. I
 confess, I long to see you, but am not so
 unreasonable to desire that Satisfaction till
 it is easy to you. I wish with all my Soul,
 that you may not be a true Prophetess, and
 that it may be soon in our Power to enjoy
 one another's Company, more than it has
 been of late; which is all I covet in this
 World.

To Lady Marlborough.

I am sorry with all my Heart, dear
 Mrs. Freeman meets with so many De-
 lays; but it is a Comfort, THEY cannot keep
 Lord Marlborough in the Tower longer than
 the End of the Term; and, I hope, when
 the Parliament sits, Care will be taken that
 People may not be clapt up for nothing, or
 else

' else there will be no living in Quiet for
 ' any Body, but insolent *Dutch*, and sneak-
 ' ing, mercenary *Englishmen*. Dear Mrs.
 ' *Freeman*, farewell; be assured your faithful
 ' Mrs. *Morley* can never *change*; and, I
 ' hope, you do not in the least doubt of her
 ' Kindness, which, if it be *possible*, *encreases*
 ' *every Day*, and that can never have an
 ' End but with her Life. Mrs. *Morley* hopes
 ' her dear Mrs. *Freeman* will let her have the
 ' *Satisfaction* of hearing from her *again* To-
 ' morrow.

To Lady Marlborough.

' Dear Mrs. *Freeman* may easily imagine,
 ' I cannot have much to say, since I saw
 ' her. However, I must write two Words.
 ' For though I believe she does not doubt of
 ' my Constancy, seeing how base and false
 ' all the World is, I am of that Temper, I
 ' think, I can never say enough to assure you
 ' of it. Therefore give me LEAVE to assure
 ' you they can never change me. And there
 ' is no Misery I cannot readily resolve to suf-
 ' fer, rather than the Thought of parting
 ' from you. And I do swear, I would sooner be

' torn in Pieces, than alter this my Resolution.
 ' My dear Mrs. Freeman, I long to
 ' hear from you.

To Lady Marlborough.

' My dear Mrs. Freeman was in so dismal
 ' a Way when she went from hence, that I
 ' cannot forbear asking how she does, and if
 ' she has yet any Hopes of Lord Marlbo-
 ' rough's being soon at Liberty. For God's
 ' Sake, have a Care of your dear Self, and
 ' give as little Way to melancholy Thoughts
 ' as you can. If I could be as often with
 ' you as those that have it in their Power, but
 ' not in their Will, you should seldom be
 ' alone; but though I have not that Satis-
 'faction, as much as I desire, I assure you,
 ' my Heart is always with you; and if Wishes
 ' signified any Thing, you would have no un-
 ' easy Minute.

' Though I long of all Things to hear from
 ' my dear Mrs. Freeman, I am not so unre-
 ' sonable as to expect the Groom should come
 ' back To-night, if he comes to you at an
 ' unseasonable Hour; therefore keep him till
 ' it

‘ it is easy to you to write. But I am in
 ‘ Hopes, I shall have a *Word or two* before I
 ‘ go to Bed ; because my dear Mrs. *Freeman*
 ‘ has promised I shall hear from you.

‘ I fancy Ass’s Milk would do you good,
 ‘ and that is what you might take Morning
 ‘ or Afternoon, as it is most convenient.

‘ I had no sooner sealed my Letter, but I
 ‘ received my dear Mrs. *Freeman’s*, for which
 ‘ I give her a *thousand Thanks*, and am over-
 ‘ joyed at the good News you send me, which
 ‘ I hope will cure you of every Thing.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ I am in Pain to know how my dear Mrs.
 ‘ *Freeman* does, for she is not used to com-
 ‘ plain, nor to be let Blood for a little Thing ;
 ‘ and therefore I cannot help enquiring what
 ‘ is the Matter, and how she finds herself
 ‘ now ? I can come either to *London* or to
 ‘ *Camden-House* To-morrow or *Monday*, or
 ‘ any other Day. If you will let me know
 ‘ where and when, and what Time I may
 ‘ have the Satisfaction of seeing you, your
 ‘ faithful *Morley* will be sure to meet you.

I have

I have already hinted, that your Grace has favoured us but with *one Side* of this Correspondence; and now cannot help adding, that your *Account* would have been much *fairer* and *clearer*, if you had likewise given us the other. What you have *expos'd*, on your own Confession, flattered your Resentments; and it would be no Breach of Charity, to insinuate your Vanity likewise: What you have concealed, 'tis shrewdly suspected, makes against you; for those who are not afraid of the whole Truth, think it is for their Advantage to set forth the whole Evidence.

Your Grace next proceeds to inform us, that, notwithstanding her Highness's Tenderness for you, she *was very attentive not to be wanting in any Point of DUE Respect* to the Queen; (I could have wish'd, Madam, you had used the Word *Ceremonial* on this Occasion) and therefore, on her falling in Labour, dispatched Sir *Benjamin Bathurst* with her *Compliments*, &c. to inform her Majesty of it, &c. and soon after Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert*, to signify that she was brought

brought to Bed of a Child that died some Minutes after the Birth ; who waited, you tell us, a considerable Time before the Queen saw her, because Lord *Rochester* was not there. And that ‘after some Conversation with him, the Queen sent for my Lady *Charlotte*, and told her, *she would go that Afternoon and see the Princess at Sion*, and ‘she was there very soon after the Notice ‘arrived !

Now, from this Incident, it is very obvious to me, and I believe to every Body else, that Lord *Rochester* was really her Highness’s *Friend*, tho’ your Grace has taken such Pains to represent him otherwise; since the Queen apparently resolved on this Visit by his Lordship’s Advice.

The Interview between the Sisters is, indeed, strangely stated by your Grace : But the Evidence of a Party was never yet admitted by any equitable Judge. Besides, the Truth breaks out, involuntarily, even in the very Speech put into the Mouth of her Majesty ; rough and imperious as it is made to appear, it argues, at least, a Disposition to

be

be reconciled ; and, setting aside your Grace's Prejudices, on no unreasonable Conditions. 'Tis however to no Purpose to reason on false Premisses ; and I can, by no Means, be persuaded that she, who first signified her Mind with so much Caution and Moderation, and so often put the Princess on her Guard not to return a rash Answer, should now break in upon, express herself to, and take her Leave of her Sister (in that Condition) so abruptly ; especially as your Grace yourself, tho' for another End, bears the following Witness in her Favour.

' I have heard that the Queen, when she came home, was pleased to say, *She was sorry she had spoke to the Princess ; who, she confessed, had so much Concern upon her at renewing the Affair, that she trembled, and looked as white as the Sheets.*'

If there is Leisure at the last Day for such minute Particulars as these, which take up so much Room in your Grace's Book, no Doubt the *Matter of Fact* will be known ; and till then we must content ourselves with what seems most like it.

To

To finish upon this Scene. Your Grace adds the two ensuing Paragraphs.

' I do not SEE how the most zealous Advocates for the Queen can vindicate her in these Proceedings to an only Sister, nor how a Man of that mighty *Understanding*, my Lord Rochester was said to have, could THINK, that a Visit (which the Queen made to every Countess) was so extraordinary a Grace to a Sister, that it should oblige her to do, what she had retired from the Court to avoid.

' I must observe to your Lordship, that the King was not in *England*, when this last Thing happened. My Lord Rochester was the Queen's *Oracle*; and whether he had any Share or not in beginning the ill Usage of the Princess, he was without question the *Prosecutor* of it.

Nothing is more extraordinary than that your Grace should see so far into other People's Concerns, and so little a Way into your own. But if your Eye-Sight was so bad while your Papers were yet in your Closet, I hope the Opinion of the Public, for which you

you manifest such a Deference, has by this Time enabled you to *see* better than ever. Even I, inconsiderable as you may affect to think me, have contributed something to your Cure: You already *see* the Queen can be vindicated: and as to the mighty *Under-standing* of my Lord *Rochester*, which you are pleas'd so often to sneer at, I think that likewise is made sufficiently evident by the Expedient of this very Visit, tho' it is treated with such Scorn by your Grace. For notwithstanding the Queen did that Honour occasionally to Countesses it must be understood as limited to those, who were upon *good Terms* with her Majesty; which not being *then* the Case of her Highness, my Lord *ROCHESTER* very wisely thought it to be an *Advance* on the Queen's Side, and therefore to be received as a *Grace* by the Princess.

But as a flagrant Instance of the marvellous Consistency of your whole Work, let me beg your Grace to compare these two last Paragraphs. In the first, my Lord *Rochester* is ridicul'd for proposing an Expedient to reconcile the two Royal Sisters; and in

in the next, is charged with being the (*Sole*
is understood) *Prosecutor of the Quarrel.*

The Credit of my Lord ROCHESTER's *mighty Understanding* does not, however, depend on this Expedient. Your Grace has already told us he opposed your Admission into the Service of the Royal Family ; and the Mischief you created in it, is a very sufficient Instance of an uncommon Penetration.

This, likewise, is but one of the almost innumerable Proofs of the Greatness of his Abilities : If your Grace had ever *read*, 'tis possible you would not, by attempting to make a Jest of his Understanding, have drawn your own into Question. His noble Defence of his great * Father, his conscientious Opposition of the *Exclusion-Bill*, however unpopular, were equal Proofs of his Genius and his Virtue : But the shrewd Light in which he stated the Vote of † *Abdication*,

in

* The Earl of *Clarendon* when impeach'd.

† The Convention, which upon the Prince of *Orange's* Letters, met on the 22d of *January* 1688. having on the 28th of the same Month come to the following Resolutions,

in the grand Conference between the Lords and Commons, which left the most forward Undertakers for our late Deliverer without a Reply,

solutions, *viz.* that King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between King and People ; and by the Advice of Jesuits and other wicked Persons, having violated the fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant : The Lords concurred with this Resolution with Amendments ; for instead of the Word *Abdicated*, they put in *Deserted*, and quite left out, *that the Throne is thereby vacant*. This occasioned a free Conference between the Lords and Commons, and my Lord Rochester concluded the Debate about the first Amendment in these Words, ‘ The Lords have given their Reasons why they altered the Word *Abdicated*, because it was a Word not known in the Common Law, and of doubtful Signification : Therefore it would be well if the Commons would please to express their own Meaning by it. I believe my Lords would be induced to agree, that the King hath *abdicated*, that is, renounced the Government for *himself* : If you mean no further than that, and if you do so, why should you not be pleased to explain your selves, that every one may know how the Matter stands ? And, to preserve a good Correspondence between both Houses, in such a Juncture and Conjunction as this ? But if you do not mean any thing more by it than *Abdication for himself only*, and though their Lordships should agree to the using of the Word *Abdicated*, yet this would prove a greater Argument against their agreeing in the other Point about the *Vacancy of the Throne* ; there-

Reply, will render his Name venerable, when your Grace's, however artificially guarded, may be heard of no more.

But

• therefore we would be glad to have you explain your
• selves what you mean by it.

Here there was a Pause. —

And the Commons afterwards proceeding to the 2d Amendment, the Lords, in the whole Course of the Debate, shewed the great Concern they had for the Succession of the Crown; and my Lord Rochester made it appear he had that Matter at Heart as much as any of them, as appears from what follows; ‘ In a free Conference the Points in Question are fully to be debated; and the Lords, in order to their Agreement with the Commons, are to be satisfy'd what is meant, and how far it may extend.

‘ You, Gentlemen, that are the Managers for the House of Commons, it seems, come with a limited Commission, and will not enter into that Consideration, which, (as our Reasons express) hath a great Weight with my Lords, whether this Vote of the Commons will not make the Monarchy of England, which has always heretofore been Hereditary, to become Elective.

‘ That the Vacancy of the Throne will infer such a Consequence, to me appears very plain. And I take it from the Argument, that the last Gentleman, meaning Mr. [afterwards Lord] Somers, used for the Word *Vacant*, out of the Record of Richard 2d's time, that is cited for a Precedent for that Word. But as that is the only Precedent, yet 'tis attended with this very Consequence; for it being there declared, that the Royal Seat was *vacant*, immediately did follow an *Election* of Henry IV. who was not next in the Right Line. Did not then this Hereditary Monarchy in this Instance become *Elective*? When

But 'tis plain your Grace not only hated him, but feared him : And what Wonder ? He was Uncle to the Princess ; she had an Opinion of his good Intentions towards her ; and you were resolv'd at any Rate, to engross her all to yourself ; which his mighty Understanding and upright Intentions, if allowed fair Play, might possibly have disappointed you of.

So much at present for my Lord Rochester.

Your Grace next entertains us with a pathetic Scene of Distress on one Side, and Heroism on the other. Having rightly enough supposed that you ought to have made some *Proposal* to the Princess, to free her from the Trouble she was in (on YOUR ACCOUNT might have been added) the Narrative is thus continued.

I assure

King Charles 2d died, I would fain know whether in our Law the Throne was *Vacant* : No sure, the next *Heir* was immediately in the Throne, and so it is in all Hereditary successive Governments. Indeed in *Poland* when the King dies, there is a *Vacancy* ; because there the Laws know no certain Successor : so that the Difference is plain, that wherever the Monarchy is Hereditary, upon the ceasing of him in Possession, the Throne is not *vacant* ; where 'tis *Elective* 'tis *Vacant*.

' I assure you, that, from the very Beginning of the Difference, it was my earnest Request to let me go from her; for tho' had I been in her *Plate*, I would not have COMPLIED with the Queen's Demand, yet I thought that in mine, I could not discharge what I owed to the Princess, without employing every Argument my Thoughts could suggest, to prevail with her to part with me. But whenever I said any Thing that looked that Way, she fell into the greatest *Passion of Tenderness* and *Weeping* that is possible to imagine. And though my Situation at that Time was so disagreeable to my Temper, that I could have chosen to go to the *Indies* sooner, than to endure it; yet, had I been to suffer a thousand Deaths, I think I ought to have submitted; rather than have gone from her against her Will.

What an affecting Image have we here of an infatuated Princess, sacrificing almost every Thing to an ill-understood Opinion of the Duties of Friendship? But the Impulse of Compassion towards her Highness must

soon give Way to that of Admiratio[n] due to your Grace. Chutch-Martyrs we have whole Books of ; but a Court-Martyr is a *Phænix*, and not to be found above once an Age. Be it known then, by these Presents, that Lady M- - - - was that *Phænix* ; that she has given it under her own Hand she was : and that her *ipse dixit* is to be allow'd against all Facts and Reasonings whatever !

Your Grace, I hope, will pardon this short Excursion, since calculated for your Service: for without it, Doubts would have arose, whether the Princess had not been *artfully* work'd up to this Transport of Tenderness? and whether this Resignation of your Grace's was not *Artificial* too; especially when a *subsequent Passage* (P. 96, 97.) comes into Consideration, and when these remarkable Words *For though had I been in her PLACE, I would NOT have complied with the Queen's Demand,* are compared with those before quoted, *I could not endure to have her do any thing that I would not have done in her Place.*

The

The Return of the Queen's Visit, called with the Scorn familiar to you, a *great Honour* by your Grace, is the next Occurrence you think proper to lay before us ; and here Bishop *Stillingfleet* is employed instead of Lord *Rochester*, not only to carry a Letter, but to *make use of his Credit to soften her* : An Expedient in your Grace's Turn, it may be fairly presum'd to induce the Queen to wave her Point, and leave her Sister in the quiet Possession of her Favourite.

To be impartial, we must here beg Leave to insert her Highness's Letters both to your Grace, and the Queen, on this Occasion, as likewise her Majesty's Answer.

The Princess to Lady Marlborough.

— — — The Bishop of *Worcester* was with me this Morning before I was dress'd. I gave him my Letter to the Queen, and he has promised to second it, and seemed to undertake it very willingly : Though by all the Discourse

' I had with him, (of which I will give
 ' you a particular Account when I see you)
 ' I find him very *partial* to her. The last
 ' Time he was here, I told him you had se-
 ' veral Times desired you might go from
 ' me, and I have repeated the same Thing
 ' again to him. For you may easily ima-
 ' gine, I would not neglect doing you Right
 ' upon all Occasions. But I beg it again,
 ' for CHRIST's JESUS's Sake, that you would
 ' never name it any more to me. For
 ' be assured, if you should ever do so cruel
 ' a Thing as to leave me, from that very Mo-
 ' ment I shall never enjoy one quiet Hour.
 ' And should you do it without asking my
 ' Consent (which if ever I give you, may I
 ' never see the Face of Heaven) I will shut
 ' myself up, and never see the World more,
 ' but live where I may be forgotten by hu-
 ' man Kind.

To the QUEEN.

Sion, the 20th of May.

' I have now, GOD be thanked, recovered
 ' my Strength well enough to go abroad.
 ' And though my Duty and Inclination
 ' would

would both lead me to wait upon your
 Majesty, as soon as I am able to do it,
 yet I have of late had the Misfortune of
 being so much under your Majesty's Dis-
 pleasure, as to apprehend, there may be
 hard Construction made upon any Thing
 I either do, or not do, with the most
 respectful Intentions. And I am in doubt
 whether the same Arguments, that have
 prevailed with your Majesty to + for-
 bid People from shewing their usual Re-
 spects to me, may not be carried so much
 farther, as not to permit me to pay my
 Duty to you. That, I acknowledge,
 would be a great Encrease of Affliction to
 me; and nothing but your Majesty's own
 Command shall ever willingly make me
 submit to it. For, whatever Reason I
 may think in my own Mind I have to
 complain of being hardly used, yet I will
 strive to hide it, as much as possible. And
 though I will not pretend to live at the
 Cockpit, unless you would be so kind

+ Her Grace has already told us that all Company had
 been forbid waiting on the Princess, and likewise that her
 Guards had been taken away. p. 75.

as to make it easy to me, yet wherever I
am, I will endeavour always to give the
constant Marks of Duty and Respect, which
I have in my Heart for your Majesty, as
becomes

*Your Majesty's very affectionate Sister,
and Servant,*

ANNE.

To this the Queen returned the following Answer.

To the PRINCESS.

I have received your's by the Bishop of Worcester, and have very little to say to it; since you cannot but know, that as I never used Compliments, so now they will not serve.

' 'Tis none of my Fault, we live at this Distance, and I have endeavoured to shew my Willingness to do otherwise. And I will do no more. Don't give yourself any unnecessary Trouble: For be assured it is not Words can make us live together as we ought. You know what I required of you. And I now tell you, if you doubted

doubted it before, that I cannot change my Mind, but expect to be complied with, or you must not wonder if I doubt of your Kindness. You can give me no other Marks, that will satisfy me. Nor can I put any other Construction upon your Actions than what all the World must do that sees them. These Things don't hinder me being very *glad* to hear you are so well, and *wishing* you may continue so; and that you may yet, while 'tis in your Power, *oblige* me to be your affectionate Sister

MARIE R.

The Princess to Lady Marlborough.

I am very sensibly touched with the Mis-fortune that my dear Mrs. *Freeman* has had of losing her Son, knowing very well what it is to lose a Child: but she knowing my Heart so well, and how great a Share I bear in all her Concerns, I will not say any more on this Subject, for fear of renewing her Passion too much.

Being now at Liberty to go where I please by the Queen's refusing to see me, I
am

' am mightily inclined to go To-morrow,
 ' after dinner, to the *Cockpit*, and from thence
 ' privately in a Chair to see you, some Time
 ' next Week. I believe it will be Time for
 ' me to go to *London* to make an End of that
 ' Business of *Berkley-House*.

' The Bishop brought me the Queen's
 ' Letter early this Morning, and by that little
 ' he said, he did not seem so well satisfied
 ' with her, as he was Yesterday. He has
 ' promised to bear me Witness, that I have
 ' made all the Advances that were reasonable.
 ' And I confess, I think, the more it is *told*
 ' *about*, that I would have waited on the
 ' Queen, but that she refused seeing me, it
 ' is the better: And therefore I will not scruple
 ' saying it to any Body, when it comes in my
 ' Way.

' There were some in the Family, as soon
 ' as the News came this Morning of our
 ' Fleet's beating the *French*, that advised the
 ' Prince to go in the Afternoon to compli-
 ' ment the Queen. And another asked me,
 ' if I would not send her one? but we nei-
 ' ther of us thought there was any Necessity
 ' of

' of it then, and much less since I received
 ' this *arbitrary* Letter. I don't send you the
 ' Original for Fear any Accident may happen
 ' to the Bearer: For I love to keep such Let-
 ' ters by me for my own Justification. Sure
 ' never any Body was so used by a Sister! but
 ' I thank GOD I have nothing to reproach
 ' myself withal in this Busines, but the more
 ' I think of all that has passed, the better I
 ' am satisfied. And if I had done otherwise,
 ' I should have deserved to have been the Scorn
 ' of the World, and to be trampled upon as
 ' much as my Enemies would have me.

' Dear Mrs. *Freeman* farewell. I hope in
 ' CHRIST you will never think more of
 ' leaving me, for I would be sacrificed to do
 ' you the least Service, and nothing but Death
 ' can ever make me part with you. For if it
 ' be possible I am every day more and more
 ' yours.

' I hope your Lord is well. It was Mr.
 ' Maul and Lady *Fitzharding* that ad-
 ' vis'd the Prince and me to make our
 ' Compliments to the Queen.

I must

I must now observe, that your Grace call'd the Queen's Letter harsh and peremptory, the Princefs an arbitrary one ; and every Body else must allow it to be very different from that she sent when this Misunderstanding first broke out. Very different indeed it is; but, before any farther Censure is pass'd upon it, it ought to be recollect'd, that the Quarrel had now been of some Continuance ; that many inflammatory Circumstances had added Fuel to the Fire ; that the Sister, who insisted on being obeyed, was Queen ; that the Struggle, in effect, lay between her Majesty and Lady *Marlborough* ; that something is to be allowed for the Frailties inseparable from human Nature ; that the King's Will was uniformly a Law to his Royal Confort ; and that, if the Queen was influenced to be rather too rigid on one hand, the Princefs was spirited up to be rather too obstinate on the other ; as is evident from the two following Letters from her Highness, exposed by your Grace, to shew that the Prince her Husband had the Complaisance to be of her Mind in all Things ; and introduced with

a fresh Comment on the OBLIGATIONS
conferred by Lord and Lady Marlborough
on the Princess of Denmark.

To Lady Marlborough.

' I really long to know how my dear
' Mrs. Freeman got home ; and now I have
' this Opportunity of writing, she must give
' me leave to tell her, if she should ever be
' so cruel to leave her faithful Mrs. Mor-
' ley, she will rob her of all the Joy and
' Quiet of her Life ; for if that Day should
' come, I could never enjoy a happy Minute,
' and I swear to you I would shut myself up,
' and never see a Creature. You may ea-
' sily see all this would have come upon
' me, if you had not been. If you do
' but remember what the Q. said to me
' the Night before your Lord was turned
' out of ALL ; then she begun to pick
' Quarrels ; and if they should take off
' twenty or thirty thousand Pound, have I
' not lived upon as little before ? When I
was

was first married we had but twenty (IT IS
 TRUE INDEED THE KING WAS SO
 KIND TO PAY MY DEBTS) and if it
 should come to that again, what Retrench-
 ment is there, in my Family, I would
 not willingly make, and be glad of that
 Pretence to do it. Never fancy, dear
 Mrs. Freeman, if what you fear should
 happen, that you are the Occasion; no, I
 am very well satisfied, *and so is the Prince*
too, it would have been so however, for
 is capable of doing nothing but
 Injustice; therefore rest satisfied, you are
 no Ways the Cause; and let me beg once
 more, for GOD's sake, that you would
 never mention parting more, no nor so
 much as think of it; and if you should
 ever leave me, be assured it would *break*
your faithful Mrs. Morley's Heart.

Friday Morning.

I hope my dear Mrs. Freeman will
 come as soon as she can, this Afternoon,
 that we may have as much Time toge-
 ther, as we can; I doubt you will think
 me

me very unreasonable for saying this,
 but I really long now to see you again, as
 much as if I had not been so happy this
 Month.

To Lady Marlborough.

In OBEDIENCE (how strange a Phrase?
 how much did her Highness forget herself?)
 to dear Mrs. Freeman, I have told the
 Prince all she desired me, and he is so far
 from being of another Opinion, if there
 had been Occasion he would have streng-
 thened me in my Resolutions, and we both
 beg you would never mention so cruel a
 thing any more. Can you think either of
 us so wretched, that for the sake of
 TWENTY THOUSAND POUND, and to
 be tormented from Morning to Night
 with flattering Knaves and Fools, we
 should forsake those, we have such OBLI-
 GATIONS to, and that we are so certain
 we are the Occasion of all their Misfor-
 tunes? Besides, can you believe we will
 truckle to who from the
 first Moment of his coming has used us

at that Rate, as we are sensible he has
 done, and that all the World can witness,
 that will not let their Interest weigh more
 with them, than their Reason? But sup-
 pose I did submit, and that the King
 could change his Nature so much, as to
 use me with Humanity, how would all
 reasonable People despise me? How would
 laugh at me and please him-
 self with having got the better? And which
 is much more, how would my Conscience
 reproach me for having sacrificed it, my
 Honour, Reputation, and all the substan-
 tial Comforts of this Life for transitory
 Interest, which even to those which make
 it their Idol, can never afford any real Sa-
 tisfaction, much less to a virtuous Mind?
 No, my dear Mrs. Freeman, never believe
 your faithful Mrs. Morley will EVER
 SUBMIT. She can wait with Patience for
 a Sunshine Day, and if she does not live
 to see it, yet she hopes *England* will flou-
 rish again. Once more give me leave to
 beg you would be so kind never to speak
 of parting more; for let what will hap-
 pen

pen, that is the only Thing can make
me miserable.

Tuesday Morning.

Your Grace's liberal Complaints of the ill Treatment you received from those you had serv'd and oblig'd, both now, while under the Frown of Q. *Mary*; and afterwards, when become equally the Abhorrence of her Sister Queen *Anne*, indicate, that your Sense of Injuries, whether real or imaginary, was as quick as it has been lasting. But Offences of this kind are as old as the World, and will be committed as long as that endures. Who was ever possess'd of Power, that had not Reason likewise to complain of having lavish'd the Benefits of it upon Undeservers? If your Grace's Royal Benefactress had kept a Journal of the Favours she bestowed, and the Returns she met with, what a Satire it would have prov'd upon human Nature? And how much Reason has your Grace, in particular, to be thankful that she had too much Magnanimity to remember the Good she had done, and too

H much

much Christianity to record the Evil she had suffered?

But to return,

Your Grace seems to have learn'd another Secret from the Painters, which is the Art of contrasting your Figures: Thus, as you yourself are every where the Angel of your Piece; my Lord Rochester is uniformly mark'd out to be the Devil. A Letter from his Lordship to the Princess, has set your happy Pencil to work, in a manner inimitable to any common Hand; and, indeed, impossible to be conceived by any Genius beneath your Grace's. . . . But, before we examine the CARRACATURE, let us cast an Eye upon the LIFE.

The LIFE.

*The Earl of ROCHESTER to the PRINCESS.**

M A D A M,

I am afraid, I may be guilty of too great Presumption in giving your Royal

High-

* Query, How came her Grace by this Letter?

Highness the Trouble of a Letter; but I
 do it with so good Intentions, that I hope
 you cannot be angry with me for it.
 And now that one is *unhappily* restrain-
 ed from the Honour of waiting upon your
 Royal Highness, there is no other way
 but *this* to make an *Offer* of my humble
 Duty to you. It is a very uncomfortable
 Reflection for me to make, that being so
 really concerned, as I am sure I am, for
 your Royal Highness's Happiness, & I
 should be so unfortunate as to be wholly
 useless to you, at a Time, when your
 Royal Highness cannot but think your-
 self, that you have Use of every Bo-
 dy, that are truly and faithfully your
 Servants. And however I have been so
 mistaken in my Judgment, as to have ne-
 ver offered any Thing to your Royal
 Highness worth your Approbation, I do,
 with all Humility, submit my poor O-
 pinion to that of your Royal Highness;
 but beg you to believe, it is not Flattery
 to any Body else, nor any other Confi-
 deration that has made me be of the

' Mind I was ; but only the want of
 ' a better Understanding, to be able to think
 ' of something more for your Service. And
 ' being thus incapable of myself to pro-
 ' pose any thing that is agreeable to you,
 ' I take this Occasion humbly to offer to
 ' your Royal Highness all the little Service
 ' you may judge me fit to be employed in,
 ' and most earnestly to beseech you to be-
 ' lieve, that if I can be of any Use in the
 ' World to your Royal Highness, there is
 ' nothing that I would endeavour with
 ' greater Satisfaction to myself, than at
 ' this Time to express the great Concern,
 ' I presume to say I have, for your Royal
 ' Highness, by any thing that I can do for
 ' your Service. And if any thing I have
 ' taken the Confidence to say be worth
 ' your taking notice of, the least Signifi-
 ' cation of your Pleasure will bring me at
 ' all Times to receive the Honour of any
 ' of your Commands ; and the Duty, and
 ' Zeal and Passion, I have for your true
 ' Interest and Prosperity, will, I hope,
 ' make some Amends for the Want of a

' bet-

‘ better Judgment and Capacity, which I
 ‘ acknowledge every Body has a greater Share
 ‘ of than,
 ‘ **MADAM,**
 ‘ Your ROYAL HIGHNESS’s
 ‘ most obedient, and
 ‘ most dutiful Servant,

ROCHESTER.

The CARRACATURE.

‘ I cannot help thinking, that there is
 ‘ something very ABSURD in the affected
 ‘ Modesty and profound Respectfulness of this
 ‘ Letter; where his Lordship owns, that
 ‘ every Body has more Judgment and Ca-
 ‘ pacity than he, and, with all Humility,
 ‘ submits his poor Opinion to that of her
 ‘ Royal Highness, and at the same time,

lets her know, that this poor Opinion,
 which he so submits, shall entirely go-
 vern him in his Behaviour towards her.
 And the perfect self-Approbation he dis-
 covers, after lamenting the Mistakes of
 his Judgment, is no less RIDICULOUS.
 For he plainly intimates some Expecta-
 tion, that she will send for him again,
 and confess the Wisdom of the SENSELESS
 Advice he had given her. I make no
 scruple to call his Lordship's Advice SENSE-
 LESS. For how unworthy soever he might
 think me of the extraordinary Affection
 the Princess had for me, he could not
 hope (unless he were really the Simpleton
 he says he is) [Fool would have agreed
 better with the rest of the Colouring of this
 Piece] that what had lately happened
 would be a Means to cure her of it in any
 Degree; and he must know, that while
 she retained that Affection, she COULD
 NOT PART WITH ME, without EX-
 TREME UNHAPPINESS to herself. And
 what had he to propose, as a Compensa-
 tion to her for this UNHAPPINESS? Not
 the

' the inward Satisfaction, nor the outward
 ' Glory of having obeyed any Law of God
 ' or of the Land, by removing me from her ;
 ' but only the empty Advantage of putting
 ' an End to their Majesties open Displeasure
 ' with her ; a Displeasure, which did her no
 ' real Hurt, and which, being so occasioned
 ' as it was, gained her Credit with every
 ' Mortal that had a Heart.'

To be able to cream over the Gall of the Heart with the Honey of the Tongue, or convey the most bitter Meaning in the most pleasing Words, has been hitherto held the distinguishing Characteristic of a Court-bred Wit; and how incomparably your Grace has succeeded in that happy, envy'd Art, is obvious from the masterly Specimen just quoted.—But however delicate your Grace's Touches must be allowed, I cannot help thinking that your Out-line is not altogether blameless; as, I think, is demonstrable from the following plain and faithful Portrait.

His Lordship believes his first Respects to be due to the Queen, yet retains the same Disposition to be serviceable to the Princess:

Tho' he could not wait upon her, he begs
 Leave to correspond with her. He laments
 to find himself useless, when a *true Friend*
 might be most useful to her. If mistaken in
 his Judgment, he submits it to that of her
 Highness; and insinuates, that his Mistake
 arose from no self-interested Consideration:
 But, tho' incapable to advise, he is ready to
 obey; solicites her Highness's Commands in
 the most earnest Manner, hopes his Zeal
 will atone for all other Defects; and since
 her Highness has preferred every Body's Coun-
 cils to his, takes it for granted, in Compliment
 to her Highness, that every Body is better
 qualified to be her Counsellor than himself.

This is the true Drawing, as the Figure
 appears to my Eye-sight; in which the ABSURD,
 the RIDICULOUS, and the SENSE-
 LESS, are so effectually concealed, that they
 elude my Observation.

But whatever Cause of Triumph occurs to
 your Grace from this charitable Parade over
 the Ashes of your *dead* Enemy, it has put
 your Grace so effectually off your Guard,
 that you have abundantly more exposed your

own Weakness than his. You have before made a *Merit* of pressing her Highness to dismiss you from her Service; and here you give us to understand, that you KNEW she could not do it without EXTREME UNHAPPINESS to herself, nor with any equivalent Advantage; which is as much as to say, it was IMPOSSIBLE FOR HER TO DO IT AT ALL. You add, her Majesty's Displeasure did her no *real Hurt*; and yet, Page 77. insinuate, the Indisposition, as you term it, of her Lying in, was followed by a *Fever*, which you believe was, in great Measure, caused by her Trouble.

Having finished your discreet and polite Comment upon my Lord Rochester's Letter, which I cannot help believing was first made *Viva Voce*, in one of your *Tete à Tete*-Scenes with the Princess, you proceed to make us acquainted with the Reception it met with from her Highness, or rather her *Governess*, as follows:

To the Earl of Rochester.

'I give you many Thanks for the Compliments and Expressions of Service which

' you make me, in your Letter; which I
 ' should be much better pleas'd with, than
 ' I am, if I had any Reason to think them
 ' sincere.

' It is a great Mortification to me, to find,
 ' that I still continue under the Misfortune
 ' of the Queen's Displeasure. I had Hopes,
 ' in Time, the Occasion of it would have
 ' appeared as little reasonable to the Queen,
 ' as it has always done to me. And if you
 ' would have persuaded me of the Sincerity
 ' of your Intentions, as you seem to desire,
 ' you must give me leave to say, I cannot
 ' think it very hard for you to convince me of
 ' it, by the Effects. And till then I must
 ' beg Leave to be excused, if I am apt to
 ' think, this great Mortification, which has
 ' been given me, cannot have proceeded
 ' from the * Queen's own Temper, who, I
 ' am persuaded, is both more just in herself,
 ' than that comes to, as well as more kind to

' Your very affectionate Friend,

ANNE.

Such

* Her Highness herself is here an Evidence that the Queen did not want Bowels.

Such Effect had your Grace's special Endeavours with the Princess, in Favour of Lord Rochester, been already attended with, and such a Change had been made in her Sentiments, since she expressed her Sense of his good Offices in her second Letter to the Queen.

What follows for several Pages in your Grace's Account, is a Series of *foolish Things*, as you very properly stile them; such as, the Pains taken with the Ladies of the Bed-chamber, to speak or write to their Relations and Acquaintance not to visit the Princess; the Heroism of Lady *Grace Pierpoint*, in refusing bluntly to comply with the Queen's Command; the Lady *Thanet*'s Letter of Excuse to her Highness; Lord *Nottingham*'s Instructions to the Mayor of *Bath*, (remember'd to be a Tallow-Chandler in your Grace's Records) not to accompany the Princess to Church in his Formalities; the Message sent to the Minister of St. *James's* Church, forbidding him to lay the Text on her Highness's Cushion, or take any more Notice of her than other People, &c. All which important Particulars are most minute-

ly Specified, most artificially set forth, and most conscientiously placed, the Affair of Lady Grace excepted; to the Account of my Lord Rochester, tho' your Grace has not condescended to assign any one Reason, or the Shadow of a Reason for so doing.

We must not however forget by the Way, that, perhaps, to supply this Defect, your Grace has presented us with a humorous Comparison between two Lord Treasurers: Rochester, who, to do Honour to his *White Staff*, made it be carried by his Chair-side by a Servant bare-headed; and Godolphin, who as ashamed of his Office, ordered his White Staff to be cut shorter than ordinary, that he might hide it, by taking it into the Chair with him.

We are likewise favoured with a Letter from the Princess to your Grace, occasioned by the Order to the Tallow-Chandler-Mayor; the which, for the Introduction's Sake, I shall beg Leave to transcribe.

To Lady Marlborough.

Dear Mrs. Freeman must give me LEAVE

to

to ask her, if any Thing has happened to
 make her *uneasy*. I thought she looked
 to Night, as if she had the *Spleen*. And
 I can't help being in *Pain* whenever I see
 her so.

I fancied Yesterday, when the Mayor
 failed in the Ceremony of going to Church
 with me, that he was commanded not to
 do it. I think 'tis a Thing to be laughed
 at. And, if they imagine to vex me or
 gain upon me by such Sort of Usage, they
 will be mightily disappointed. And I hope
 these foolish Things they do, will every
 Day show People more and more, what
 they are, and that they truly deserve the
 Name your faithful *Marley* has given them.

Hitherto the high Crimes and Misdemeanors
 said to be committed by my Lord *Rochester*
 against her Highness, have scarce the slightest
 Pretence to support them. And all he has
 really to answer for, is the Opposition he
 made to your Grace's being admitted into
 the Royal Family. But, in your next Para-
 graph, you fix a Fact upon him; that Fact
 is

is properly supported, and we have only the usual Prayer to make, *That his Lordship may have a good Deliverance.*

The Bill of Indictment, as drawn by your Grace, with the Help of your Counsel, runs thus.

' After all these *notable Efforts* to *SUBDUE*
 ' the Princess had been employed without
 ' Success, and when we were got again, as I
 ' thought, into a settled Way, at *Berkley-*
 ' *House*, my Lord *Rochester* attempted once
 ' more to bring about *HIS PURPOSE*, by a
 ' *Stratagem*. He came to Sir *Benjamin Ba-*
 ' *tburst*, and to others of the Princess's Fami-
 ' ly, insinuating to them, *that if the Princess*
 ' *would put ME away*, *he was persuaded*, *the*
 ' *Queen would, in some Time*, *be prevailed*
 ' *upon to let her take me again*; *which was*
 ' *altogether improbable*, and indeed *ridicu-*
 ' *lous*: because my only pretended Fault was
 ' *being my Lord Marlborough's Wife*, a Fault
 ' *which I could neither excuse*, nor extenu-
 ' *ate*, nor *repent of*.

Just thirty Pages before this, your Grace assures us, my Lord *Rochester* was *the Queen's*

Oracle;

Oracle ; and that, whether he had any Share or not in beginning the ill Usage of the Princess, he was, without Question, the Prosecutor of it. And it is in Support of this hardy Assertion, that all the foolish Things above hinted at, take up so much Room in your Grace's Book. His PURPOSE at that Time, then, must be understood to inflame the Quarrel ; and his PURPOSE now, it seems, is only to PUT YOUR GRACE AWAY ; the which, likewise, he has so much at Heart, that he is even at the Trouble of a *Stratagem*, in order to bring it about. Thus your Grace states the Case, and on these Premisses puts in for a Verdict. —— But, in Behalf of the Culprit, I appeal to the Court ; whether it is not much more natural to conclude, that his uniform Purpose was to reconcile the two Sisters ; whether both the Princess's Letter (I mean her second) to the Queen, p. 60. and his Lordship's to her, do not make this sufficiently evident ; and lastly, whether this very *Stratagem* was not calculated to answer the same innocent and laudable End ? —— 'Tis true,

your Grace, with your usual Plainness, and Simplicity of Manners, is pleased to treat his Lordship's Insinuation, *That the Queen might be prevailed upon to let the Princess take you again*, as altogether *improbable* and *ridiculous*. But either my Lord Rochester was not the Queen's Oracle, as your Grace asserts above, or there was nothing either *ridiculous* or *improbable* in his Hope to *prevail* with the Queen to agree to the Expedient he then proposed, as the only one likely to make up the Breach. Nay, 'tis plain, the Princess herself considered it in this Light, and, if the Sequel is literally true, which depends on a double Report of Lady Fitzharding from the Queen, and your Grace from her, it only proves that his Lordship's Affection to his two Nieces, had led him to engage for more than he could make good; and that her Majesty was more incensed against Lady Marlborough, and the Princess on her Account, than he, till then, believed.

'The Princess considered this Project as nothing more than a new *civil Plot* of my Lord Rochester's. However she was resolved

' solved to leave nothing undone on her Part;
 ' and therefore, knowing that my Lady
 ' Fitzharding could speak more freely to the
 ' Queen than any Body else whom she could
 ' employ, she sent for her and repeated to
 ' her my Lord Rochester's Proposal, desiring
 ' her to acquaint the Queen, that from what
 ' his Lordship had said, she had been flatter-
 ' ing herself, she had mistaken her Majesty's
 ' last Words; and that if she might hope his
 ' Lordship had any Ground for his Opinion,
 ' she should be very ready to give her Majesty
 ' any Satisfaction of that Sort. Upon the
 ' Delivery of this Message, the Queen fell in-
 ' to a great Passion, and said, her Sister had
 ' not mistaken her, for she never would see
 ' her, upon any other Terms, than parting
 ' with me, not for a Time, but for ever;
 ' adding, that she was a Queen, and would
 ' be obeyed.

'Tis plain however, from the Event, that his
 Lordship judg'd right in persuading himself
 that the Resentment of the Court was not un-
 appeasable; since his Majesty was afterwards
 pleased not only to forget Lord Marlborough
 I had

had ever given him Cause of Displeasure, but to take him into Favour again, and, even in a ~~discreet~~^{bold} Manner, that shewed the King to be no Stranger to Politeness, to entrust him with the Education of the Duke of Gloucester. Consequently, if this dreaded Stratagem had taken Place, your Grace's having the Honour to be Lord Marlborough's WIFE, would have been no such insurmountable Bar, as you are pleased to make it, to your being readmitted into your former Station of DOMINEERING over the Princess.

But it is most remarkable, that, tho' your Grace has dwelt so long on your Sufferings in this Reign, you have but just mention'd this ~~†~~ Turn in your Lord's Affairs; and that by Way of Parenthesis only. (*Who was now restored to the Army, and was to be Governor to the Duke of GLOUCESTER*) Account, p. 126. As if he, who had HAPPENED to

be

* According to Mr. Ledard, with this Speech, *My Lord!* teach him to be but what you are, and my Nephew cannot want Accomplishments.

† She (the Princess) was not made acquainted with public Affairs, &c. - Only PAINS had been taken to please the Earl of Marlborough, with which he was fully satisfied: Nothing had contented him better, than the Command he had the former Year of the Troops which were sent to the Assistance of the States. *Burnet.*

be in Disgrace, had likewise HAPPENED to stumble into Confidence again.

Of this your Grace's Enemies have expressed themselves with some Bitterness ; as if you never forgave an Injury, or acknowledg'd a Benefit. But, for my Part, I see it in another Light : For if you had ventured to expatiate on this Particular, it must have been with some Sense of Gratitude to the Memory of King *William* ; and this would not have suited with the rest of your Book ; in which he is scarce ever mentioned, but as an Usurper, a Brute, and a Tyrant.

I am now to observe, that, tho' Authors seldom fulfil their Promises they make at their Out-set, your Grace has done more : Your first Proposals are only to purge your self from Calumny and Misrepresentation : You give us no Hint of your Design to wreak your Vengeance upon your Enemies. But, in the Progress of your Work, you do both ; blacken on one Hand, and blanch on the other : Nay, you go farther still ; set your self off with imaginary Perfections, and charge your Enemies with imaginary Faults ;

that is to say, not only those you would have it believed they had committed, but those they could be guilty of in *Intention* only.— A Finesse peculiar to your Grace; and which, in this Age of Controversy and Invective, when ONE MAN has been made the BUTT of a whole People, I do not remember to have seen practised before! — But lest this likewise should be thought an imaginary Charge against your Grace, it is necessary to support it with a Proof, which will put it beyond the Reach of Contradiction.

' The Princess, (says your Grace) after this, continued at Berkeley-House in a very quiet Way. For there was nothing more to be done, unless THEY would stop her Revenue, which DOUBTLESS THEY WOULD have ATTEMPTED, had THEY thought it PRACTICABLE. But my Lord Godolphin was then first Commissioner of the Treasury, a Man esteemed very useful to the Service, and who THEY KNEW, would QUIT upon any such ORDERS. And THEY COULD NOT easily have found a Person with Qualities fit for that Employment, who would

would have thought it consistent with Honour or Safety to take a Place, which another had left upon such an Account ; and at the same Time refuse paying the Revenue settled by an *Act of Parliament* on the next Heir to the Crown.

But this Passage is not remarkable *only* for the Particular above specified. The Word **THEY** has likewise its Beauties, as being a Master-Piece in the *Spartan* Stile, and in one simple Monosyllable comprehending both **KING** and **QUEEN**. Again, what a Glory is here reflected on my Lord **GODOLPHIN**, who appears to be a Personage of such Importance, that **THEY**, who presumed to wage War with Lord and Lady *Marlborough*, durst not task his Integrity too far, for fear he should quit, and not another Man in the three Kingdoms should be found able to fill his Place? Indeed how **THEY** came to know that he, who serv'd in the same Office under *James II.* and then was so entirely a *Financier*, as to continue his Services after the *Revolution*, should grow so untractable all

at once, your Grace has not thought proper to explain ; any more, than how it was so INDUBITALE that THEY would have STOPP'D a Revenue settled by *Act of Parliament* on the next *Heir* of the *Crown*, when it was neither honourable nor SAFE for any Body to obey so unjust a Command.

In the next Paragraph but two, we have a civil Message from the Prince to the King, desiring to know whether a Visit would be agreeable to his Majesty on his Return from *Flanders*, notwithstanding her Highness had the Misfortune to lye under the Queen's Dis-pleasure; and as your Grace has taken no Notice of the Reception it met with, we may be certain it was as *civilly* answered.

We have before had occasion to compliment your Grace on your Wit, and here it is impossible not to do equal Justice to your Memory ; which, notwithstanding the great Variety of extraordinary Affairs it has, from Time to Time, been burthened with, could, notwithstanding, treasure up such *foolish Things*, as follow from hence to the End of this Section of your Book,

Foolish,

Foolish, however, as they are, we are not but at Liberty to pass them over in the Lump; here and there shall distinguish some *choice* Particulars, which may not be unworthy to be serv'd up a second Time, for the Entertainment of the Public.

For Example.

The Duke of Gloucester also waited several Times on her Majesty, who made a great Show of Kindness to him, and gave him Rattles, and several Play-things, which were constantly put down in the GAZETTE. And whenever the Duke was sick, she sent a Bed-chamber Woman to Camden-House to enquire how he did. But this COMPLIMENT was made in so offensive a Manner to the Princess, that I have often wondered how any Mortal could bear it with the Patience she did. For whoever was sent, used to come without any Ceremony into the Room where the Princess herself was, and passing by her, as she stood or sat, without taking more Notice of her, than if she were a Rocker, go

directly up to the Duke, and make their Speech to him, or to the Nurse, as he lay in her Lap.

I believe it will be allowed, that there was a good deal of *Insolence* and *Ill-breeding* in this Behaviour; and that the Queen might, with Safety to all her Dignity, have found Means to satisfy herself about the Duke of Gloucester's Health, without suffering to be done to the Princess, what no Body before ever thought of, and what no private Person in this Country would bear from another. And yet the Return, which the Princess, when she came to the Crown, made to this Rudeness of the Queen's Women, was to give them Pensions; a Thing which the King himself grew weary of doing some time before he died.

Your Grace has an admirable Knack of conveying a keen Stroke of Satire in one Word; which is sufficiently exemplified in the Words *SHOW*, *GAZETTE* and *COMPLIMENT*, in the first of the two preceding Quotations: And as to your abundant Charity, it overflows in the Interpretation you are

are pleased to put on the *weighty Incidents* which make up the Subject-matter they treat of.

And that this Interpretation is merely the Effect of this Charity of your's, is plain: Because it is scarce to be supposed that her Majesty could expect the Princess would be always found in her *Nursery*; and consequently the *Rudeness* and *Insolence*, complained of so *FREELY* by your Grace; will hardly be thought premeditated by any Body else: On the contrary, there is Room for Persons of equal Charity with your Grace to suppose, that her *Highness* was *induced* to repair thither at the very Times these Messages were sent, and these Speeches were made, for no other End, but to furnish out these happy Decorations of your Grace's *Mémoirs*, and Materials proper for the scandalous *Chronicle of those Times*.

I have before had occasion to mention the Queen's last Illness, and the Princess's Message by a Lady of her Bed-chamber thereon: I am now to take Notice of the Answer return'd to it by Lady *Derby*, in a Letter to the same

same Lady, with your Grace's Reflections thereon, &c.

MADAM,

I am commanded by the King and Queen to tell you, they desire you would let the Princess know they both thank her for sending and desiring to come: But, it being thought so necessary to keep the Queen as quiet as possible, hope she will defer it.

MADAM,

Your LADYSHIP's, most humble Servant,

E. DERBY.

Pray, Madam, present my humble Duty to the Princess.

This civil Answer, and my Lady Derby's Postscript, made me conclude, more than if the College of Physicians had told it me, that the Disease was mortal. And, as I knew that several People, and even ONE of the PRINCESS'S OWN FAMILY, were ALLOW'D to see the Queen, I was also fully persuaded, that the deferring the Princess's coming,

‘ coming, was only to leave Room for continuing the Quarrel, in case the Queen should chance to recover, or for Reconciliation with the King, (if that should be thought convenient) in case of the Queen’s Death.

‘ During all the Time of the Queen’s Illness to her Decease, the Princess sent every Day to enquire how she did ; and once, I am sure, her Majesty heard of it ; because my Lady Fitzharding, who was charged with the Message, and who had more Desire than ordinary to see the Queen, BROKE IN WHETHER THEY WOULD OR NOT, and delivered it to her, endeavouring to express in how much Concern the Princess was : To which the Queen returned no Answer but a cold Thanks. Nor, though she received the Sacrament in her Illness, did she ever send the least Message to the Princess, except that in my Lady Derby’s Letter, which perhaps her Majesty knew nothing of.

‘ How this Conduct to a Sister could suit with the Character of a devout Queen, I am at a Loss to know. For there is nothing

thing more plain in Scripture, than the vth
 Chapter of St. Matthew, ver. 23; and 24.
*Therefore if thou bring thy Gift to the
 Altar, and there remembrest that thy Bro-
 ther bath aught against thee, leave there
 thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way;
 first be reconciled to thy Brother, and then
 come and offer thy Gift.*

I will suppose, for Argument Sake,
 (though I think it scarce possible) that the
 Queen might have so wrong an Under-
 standing, as to think, she had no Repara-
 tion to make, and that the Princess had
 injured her, in not being her Slave: Yet,
 even in that Case, there was something
 omitted; for we are taught to forgive the
*Trespasses against us, as we expect to be
 forgiven.*

I have taken the Liberty to treat your
 Grace, for a few Pages back, somewhat
 ironically; but I now find myself under a
 Necessity to put on a more serious Brow.
 You have brought us to the Death-bed of
 one of the most amiable Women, and most
 idoliz'd of Queens, whom you pursued from
her

her first Step into the Royal Palace as a Sovereign, to her last Gasp, with implacable Hatred; and, carrying your Resentment even beyond the Grave, have endeavoured to shed Poison on her Memory, which, notwithstanding your own avowed Notion of the Value of Fame after Death, you hope to be incurable.

It was shrewdly said by a certain noble Lord, that your Book was an Answer to itself: And who can read the last Quotations I have made from it, without being of the same Opinion? . . . In one Passage, People even of the Princess's Family are ALLOW'D to see the Queen; and in another, Lady *Fitzharding*, tho' charged with a Message from her Highness, is forc'd to BREAK IN, whether they WOULD OR NOT: Lady *Derby*'s civil Letter is made a Proof that the Queen's Disease was mortal; and yet a Provision is thought of to continue the Quarrel, in case she should chance to recover. Even the sinking Spirits, feeble Voice, and dying Manner of the Queen in her last Agonies, are misrepresented under the Term of a COLD

THANKS : Nay, an Act of *Devotion* is made use of to aggravate the Charge against her ; and lest the Merit of Lady *Derby's* Letter should be ascribed to her Majesty *, a *PERHAPS* is inserted that SHE KNEW *NOTHING* of it : Nor do you stop here, but take a Hint from her known Piety to pelt her with Texts of Scripture, as if self-condemn'd on her own Principles, and beyond the Reach of *Absolution*.

Good GOD, Madam ! is this *Conduct* of yours agreeable to the Gospel you quote, to the Innocence and Virtue you pretend to, to the Fame you pant after ? Had your Cause been ever so good, your Sufferings ever so notorious, the Purity and Integrity of your Life ever so unquestionable, how much more decent, more noble, more laudable, and even more prudently would it have been to have drawn a Veil over a Character, which, allowing your Allegations their full Force, was blameable only towards you ?

* Contrary to all which, we are assured by Bishop *Burnet*, that the Queen had not only received a kind Letter from, but had sent a reconciling Message to the Prince's : *And so THAT BREACH WAS MADE UP.*

But

But your *Bolt is shot*, and Expostulation is now fruitless. Like *Nero*, to avoid falling into the Hands of your Enemies, you have destroyed yourself ; and there is now no Fear that even the very *Phantom* you threatned us with, will ever haunt the World for the future.

I had once some Thoughts of concluding my Reply to your Grace's first Section here ; but two other remarkable Passages call for Justice ; and Justice they shall have to a Scruple, if in my Power to bestow. The first is this,

I confess, for my own Part, that in the Point of *Respect to the King (and to the Queen when living)* I thought the Princess did a great deal too much ; and it often made me very UNEASY. For I could not endure to have her do any Thing, that I would not have done in her Place. And all the Friends I ever had in my Life would not have prevailed with ME to make any one Step, the Princess did, during the Quarrel, except the first Letter she wrote to the Queen, and the last

Message of offering to come to her in her
 Sicknes. But a Letter which the Prin-
 cess, after the Reconcilement, wrote to the
 King upon the taking of Namur, gave
 me, I think, more CONCERN than any
 other Instance of her *Respectfulness*; tho'
 it was advised by three Lords, whose Judg-
 ments all the World valued. It ran
 thus:

SIR,

Though I have been unwilling to give
 you the Trouble of a Letter upon any
 other Occasion, yet upon one so glorious
 to your Majesty as the taking of *Namur*,
 I hope you will give me leave to congra-
 tulate your good Success, which don't
 please me so much upon any other Ac-
 count, as for the Satisfaction, that I am
 sensible your Majesty must needs feel in
 this great Addition to the Reputation of
 your Arms. And I beg leave, Sir, to
 assure you, that as no Body is more near-
 ly concerned in your Interests, so no Body
 wishes,

wishes more heartily for your Happiness
and Prosperity at Home than

Your, &c.

I ANNE.

Having dispatched one Sister, your Grace is now to triumph over the other ; and I appeal to the whole Kingdom, if in the Light you have stated her Highness's Letter, it can be inserted with any other View, but to teach Posterity, that * * * Duchess of * * * had more Magnanimity and Royalty of Spirit, than *Anne*, Princess of *Denmark*, afterwards the Glory of the *English* Throne, and the Delight of the *English* People ; as well as more Sense than the THREE Lords who advised it, tho' valued for their Judgment by all the World.

But your Grace does not seem to be apriz'd that there is an infinite Difference between Greatness and Haughtiness of Mind ; and having a very ample Share of one, you made no Difficulty to mistake it for the other. A very contemptible Creature may

assume; only a very enlarged Heart can forgive. In this View I cannot help paying infinitely more Honour to the Princess in her Condescensions, than to your Grace in your Altitudes.

And now for the second.

' And now, after all I have related of
 ' the King, (for ten Pages together) and
 ' after so much DISLIKE, as I have ex-
 ' pressed of his Character and Conduct, you
 ' will perhaps hardly believe me, in what I
 ' am going to say: Yes, your Lordship *will*
 ' believe me; for you will judge of *my*
 ' Heart, by the Make and Temper of your
 own. [God forbid his Lordship should grow
 vain] ' When the King came to die, I
 ' felt nothing of that Satisfaction, which I
 ' once thought I should have had upon this
 ' Occasion. And my Lady Jersey's writ-
 ' ing and sending perpetually to give an
 ' Account, as his Breath grew shorter
 ' and shorter, filled ME with *Hor-*
' ror. I thought I would lose the *best*
 ' Employment in any Court, sooner than act
 ' so *odious a Part.* And the King, who
 ' had

had given me so much Cause to hate him, in
 that Condition I sincerely pitied : So little
 is it in my Nature to RETAIN RESEN-
 TMENT against any Mortal, (how unjust
 soever he may have been) in whom *the*
Will to injure is no more.

Amazing ! your Grace could not only consider Queen *Mary* in her last Moments with Indifference and Unconcern, but with Resentment and Malignity ; and you cannot hear of the King's Breath growing *shorter and shorter* without *Horror*. How is this to be accounted for ? I know but one Way. Your Lord *happened* to be in Disgrace at Court when Queen *Mary* died. Your Lord *happened* to be in Favour when King *William* died. Very sufficient Reasons, no doubt, why a kind of savage Officiousness in Lord and Lady *Jersey* should create Abhorrence ; and yet a remorseless Enmity be held irreproachable in Lady * * * * *

But what is most amazing of all, after your Grace has given such incontestable Proofs under your Hand, that your Animosity to Queen *Mary*, tho' of almost fifty
 years

Years standing, is still as pungent as ever, you conclude your first Section with a grave Panegyric on your self, for being so little disposed to *retain Resentment* against any *Mortal*, who was become *Immortal!*



W

§ II.

§ II.

WE are now to follow your Grace from the Bed-chamber to the Cabinet ; from your being merely the Princess of Denmark's FAMILIAR, to your being held the evil GENIUS of the whole State : In which Pursuit, whatever Doubles we are forced to make, in order to keep your Grace in Sight, we shall be enabled, from the best Authorities, both to undeceive the present Age, and likewise hand down the *Truth* to Posterity. —— The *Truth*, Madam ; not merely the bright Side of a Character ; not the over-rated Services of a Junto, or the popular Pretensions of a Party, which but too generally make up the Bulk of modern History.

But, in order to find out what is true, we must first expose what is false ; I must take Leave, therefore, to quote a few of

your first Pages entire, for the sake of the extraordinary Things contained in them.

' The King died, and the Princess of Denmark took his Place. This Elevation of my Mistress to the Throne brought me into a new Scene of Life, and into a new sort of Consideration with all those, whose Attention, either by Curiosity or Ambition, was turned to Politicks and the Court. Hitherto my Favour with her Royal Highness, though it had sometimes furnished Matter of Conversation to the Publick, had been of no Moment to the Affairs of the Nation, she herself having no Share in the Councils, by which they were managed. But from this Time, I began to be look'd upon as a Person of Consequence, without whose APPROBATION, at least, neither Places, nor Pensions, nor Honours were bestowed by the Crown. The intimate Friendship, with which the Queen was known to honour me, afforded a plausible Foundation for this Opinion : And I believe therefore, it will be a Surprise to many, to be told, That the FIRST

im-

' important Step, which her Majesty took,
 ' after her Accession to the Government,
 ' was AGAINST my Wishes and Inclination :
 ' I mean, Her throwing herself and her Af-
 ' fairs almost entirely into the Hands of
 ' the Tories.

' I shall dwell the longer, and be the
 ' more particular upon the Subject of my
 ' Disagreement with her Majesty about Par-
 ' ties, that I may expose the Injustice of
 ' those Whigs, who, after the great Change
 ' in 1710, accused ME of being the Ruin
 ' of their Cause; a Cause, that, in her
 ' Reign, would have been always too low,
 ' to be capable of a FALL, but for the
 ' ZEAL and Diligence, with which I
 ' seiz'd every Opportunity to raise and esta-
 ' blish it ; WHICH, in the End, proved the
 ' RUIN of my Favour with her Majesty.

' The Queen had from her Infancy im-
 'bibed the most unconquerable Prejudices
 ' against the Whigs. She had been taught
 ' to look upon them all, not only as Repub-
 ' licans, who hated the very Shadow of Re-
 ' gal Authority, but as implacable Enemies

‘ to the Church of *England*. This Aversion
 ‘ to the whole Party had been confirmed by
 ‘ the ill Usage she had met with from her
 ‘ Sister and King *William*, which, though
 ‘ PERHAPS more owing to Lord *Rochester*,
 ‘ than to any Man then living, was now to
 ‘ be all charged to the Account of the
 ‘ *Whigs*. And Prince *George* her Husband,
 ‘ who had also been ill treated, in that
 ‘ Reign, threw into the Scale his Resent-
 ‘ ments.

‘ On the other hand, the *Tories* had the
 ‘ Advantage, not only of the Queen’s early
 ‘ Prepossession in their Favour, but of their
 ‘ having *assisted* her in the late Reign, in the
 ‘ Affair of her *Settlement*. It was indeed
 ‘ evident, that they had done this, more in
 ‘ Opposition to King *William*, than from
 ‘ any real Respect for the Princess of *Den-
 ‘ mark*. But still they had *served* her. And
 ‘ the Winter before she came to the Crown,
 ‘ they had in the same *Spirit of Opposition*
 ‘ to the King, and in *Prospect* of his *Death*,
 ‘ paid her more than *usual* Civilities and
 ‘ Attendance.

‘ It

‘ It is no great Wonder therefore, all
 ‘ these Things considered, that as soon as she
 ‘ was seated in the Throne, the *Tories* (whom
 ‘ she usually called by the agreeable Name
 ‘ of the *Church-Party*) became the distin-
 ‘ guished Objects of the Royal Favour.

‘ Dr. *Sharp*, Archbishop of *York*, was
 ‘ pitched upon by herself to preach her Co-
 ‘ ration Sermon, and to be her chief
 ‘ Counsellor in Church-matters; and her
 ‘ Privy-Council was filled with Tories. My
 ‘ Lord *Normanby* (soon after Duke of Buck-
 ‘ ingham) the Earls of *Jersey* and *Notting-
 ham*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, with many
 ‘ others of the High-fliers, were brought
 ‘ into Place; Sir *Nathan Wright* was con-
 ‘ tinued in Possession of the Great Seal of
 ‘ England, and the Earl of *Rochester* in the
 ‘ Lieutenancy of *Ireland*. These were
 ‘ Men, who had all a wonderful Zeal for
 ‘ the Church; a sort of publick Merit that
 ‘ eclipsed all other in the Eyes of the Queen.
 ‘ And I am firmly persuaded, that, notwith-
 ‘ standing her extraordinary *Affection* for
 ‘ me, and the entire *Devotion* which my
 ‘ Lord

‘ Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godol-
 ‘ phin had for many Years shown to her
 ‘ Service, they would not have had so great
 ‘ a Share of her Favour and Confidence, if
 ‘ they had not been RECKONED in the
 ‘ Number of the Tories.

‘ The Truth is, though both these Lords
 ‘ had always the real Interest of the Nation
 ‘ at Heart, and had given Proof of this, by
 ‘ their Conduct in their several Employ-
 ‘ ments, in the late Reign, they had been
 ‘ EDUCATED in the Persuasion, that the
 ‘ High-Church Party were the best Friends
 ‘ to the Constitution, both of Church and
 ‘ State; nor were they perfectly *undeceived*
 ‘ but by *Experience*.

Having, in my Reply to the first Section
 of your Grace’s Book, sufficiently exposed
 the Passion predominant in it; and pointed
 out the several Instances in which it breaks
 forth; I shall in this confine myself prin-
 cipally to such Points of more general Con-
 cern, as either do or must make a Figure
 in our Annals: And among these your
 Grace’s Assertion, *That the first important*

Step her Majesty took was, against your WISHES and INCLINATIONS, to throw herself and her Affairs almost entirely into the Hands of the TORIES, demands our foremost Notice ; as containing what your Grace may possibly think proper to retract when you recollect the following Speech of the Queen's, which, as you very well know, she delivered the *very Day* of her Accession, (March 8th,) to the Council.

‘ My Lords,

‘ I am extremely sensible of the general Misfortune to these Kingdoms, in the unspeakable Loss of the King ; and of the great Weight and Burden it brings in particular to myself ; which nothing would encourage me to undergo, but the great Concern I have for the Preservation of our Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of my Country All these being as dear to me, as they can be to any Person whatsoever. You may depend upon it that no Pains, no Diligence shall be wanting on my Part, to defend and support them ; to

‘ main-

maintain the Succession in the Protestant Line, and the Government in Church and State, as it is by Law established. I think it proper, upon this Occasion of my first speaking to you, to declare my own OPINION of the Importance of carrying on all the Preparations we are making to oppose the great Power of France. And I shall lose no Time in giving our Allies all Assurances, that nothing shall be wanting on my Part, to pursue the Interest of England, together with theirs, for the Support of the Common Cause.

In order to these Ends, I shall be always ready to ask the Advice of my Council, and of both Houses of Parliament; and desirous to countenance and employ ALL those who shall heartily concur and join with me in supporting and maintaining the Present Establishment against ALL Enemies and OPPONENTS whatsoever.

Hence it appears her Majesty's first Step was to declare it as her own OPINION, that the Preparations for a War with France ought to be continued; and whether this was

was done *against* Lady *****'s WISHES and INCLINATIONS, or by the Influence of the *Tory* Ministry, not appointed till *afterwards*, let common Sense judge !

Whoever then prevail'd with the Queen to take this *first Step*, it is reasonable to suppose prevail'd with her to take the *SECOND*, viz. *The throwing herself and her Affairs into the Hands of the Tories* : If then this was not the Result of your Grace's Influence, it must be necessarily ascrib'd to your Lord ; who, in Opposition to you, for *once* fell in with the Queen's *Inclinations* to that Party, in order to carry his own favourite Point of being at the Head of the Grand Confederacy as Successor to his late Master K. *William* ; which is yet farther demonstrable from Bishop *Burnet*, whose very Words are these : 'The Maxim laid down at 'COURT, was, to put the Direction of Af- 'fairs into the Hands of the Tories. The 'Earl of *Marlborough* assured me, this was 'done upon the *Promises* they made to carry 'on the WAR, and to maintain the *Alliances*.

' If

• If they kept these, then Affairs would go on
 • smoothly in the House of Commons; but if
 • they failed in this, the Queen would put her
 • Business into other Hands.

Here then it appears, that the *Tories* were taken in upon the very *Plan* of the Queen's *Speech* in Council ; the latter Part of which is to be understood as proposing the very Conditions on which they were to serve ; and this *Plan* can be ascribed to no others, but those who were to gain most by putting it in Execution.

— 'Tis true, your Grace has assured us, that the Lords *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* ow'd the Favour and Confidence they enjoyed to their being RECKON'D ; or, as you afterwards explain it, to their being both by *Education and Judgment TORIES* ; and that it was *Experience* only which made them otherwise.

If then your Grace was in *earnest* when you first declared this Step to be contrary to your *Wishes* and *Inclinations*, who can help imagining it was done partly with a politic View of keeping the Whigs in hope
 of

of one Day being taken into your PROTEC-
TION, and by that Means supplanting their
Adversaries the Tories? And this is so much
the more reasonable to imagine was your
Grace's View, since the Thing did actually some
time after come to pass: In which remark-
able Instance, you had at once the Glory to
triumph over the Prejudices of those two
Lords, as well as those of the Queen, and
the Power of that whole Party; Whether
by your *own* Strength and Sagacity ONLY,
will come more seasonably under Considera-
tion by and by.

I am now to observe, that your Grace seems
resolved, that this Column which, for so ma-
ny Years, you have been raising to your Fame,
shall no ways be indebted to the good Word
of either Party for its Support, for you de-
clare open War with both: And as you are
alike severe on the Persons and Principles
of the *Tories*, so you charge the *Whigs* with
Injustice and *Ingratitude*, and, contemptu-
ously represent them as *too low*, in that
Reign, to be capable of a *Fall*, till exalted
by you; tho', in Confederacy with you,
they

they became afterwards so mighty, as not only to gain the Ascendancy in Elections, and to lord it in Parliament, but to esteem themselves the Arbiters of the Fate of *Europe*.

There is no Need to comment on all the little Particularities which follow this express Denunciation of your Wrath against the Whigs : The bare Distinction of them with a particular Character, is all that is necessary both to expose and answer them.

It will be sufficient to observe, upon the Whole, that, as the Queen was situated on her Accession to the Throne, she could scarce throw herself into any other Hands but those of the Tories, or reputed Tories : The Tories had served and countenanced her in the late Reign ; she was a Tory herself, if it is decent to distinguish a Sovereign with the Brand of either Party ; her prime Counsellors, Lord *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*, to say nothing of Lord *Rochester*, her Uncle, were of the same Persuasion : These Lords had likewise contracted their Friendships, and placed their Confidence hitherto among those who had imbib'd the like Prejudices with themselves and

and a Bargain, as already proved, had been manifestly made, to employ such principally; provided they went heartily into Lord Marlborough's Views, of running all Lengths in the Support of a *Land-War.*

I say again, Madam, such a Bargain, on such Conditions, was manifest: If, therefore, the *Sorrow*, you express in the last of the ensuing Paragraphs, *was so hearty*, as you would have it believed, it must be understood as meaning only this; that these *Views* of Lord Marlborough could not then be carried on without the Assistance of a Party you despised.

The said Paragraphs run thus:

I ' For my own Part, I had not the same
 ' Prepossessions. The *Word CHURCH*
 ' had never any Charm for *Me*, in the
 ' Mouths of those, who made the most Noise
 ' with it; for I could not perceive that they
 ' gave any other distinguishing Proof of their
 ' Regard for the *Thing*, than a frequent Use
 ' of the *Word*, like a Spell to enchant weak
 ' Minds; and a persecuting Zeal against Dis-
 ' senters, and against those Friends of the

Church, who would not admit that *Persecution* was agreeable to its Doctrine. And as to State-Affairs, many of these Churchmen seemed to me, to have no fixed Principles at all, having endeavoured, during the last Reign, to undermine that very Government, which they had contributed to establish.

I was HEARTILY SORRY therefore, that, for the Sake of such Churchmen, others should be removed from their Employments, who had been firm to the Principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to support the Queen, and promote the Welfare of our Country, than the wrong-headed Politicians that succeeded them.

Considering the Transactions of the Year 1710, that your Grace should be angry with the Word *Church* I do not wonder: And that the said Word has been greatly mistaken by the Foolish, and abus'd by the Designing, I shall not dispute; but that you undertook to encounter the Queen's Prejudices, or to dispose her Majesty to think favourably

vourably of the *Whigs*, merely because their Principles were more *rational* than those of the *Tories*, or more tending to the *Preservation of Liberty*, and no way prejudicial to the *Established Church*, as you alledge, p. 147. requires a stronger Degree of Faith on my Side than I have as yet been bleſſ'd with, or additional Evidence on your Grace's.

'Tis true, Madam, you give us to understand, that when the Queen had determined to create four new Peers, all *Tories*, viz. *Granville, Guernsey, Gower* and *Conway*, you prevailed with her in favour of Mr. *Hervey*, to compliment you with a fifth, *in Spite of the Opposition of the Tories*, especially the *Four* in Nomination, who for a while *refus'd to accept of the Peerage, if a Whig were admitted to the same Honour*. And you likewise produce a Letter from the Queen, to testify that you were really an Advocate for that Party; which, for many Reasons, it may be necessary to insert as follows.

St. James's, Saturday the 24 Oct.

* I am very glad to find by my dear Mrs.

Freeman's, that I was BLEST with Yester-
 day, that s H E liked *my Speech*; but I cannot
 help being extremely concerned, you are so
 partial to the Whigs, because I would not
 have you, and your poor, unfortunate,
 faithful Morley differ in Opinion in the least
 Thing. What I said, when I writ last upon
 this Subject, does not proceed from any In-
 sinuations of the other Party; but I know
 the Principles of the Church of *England*,
 and I know those of the Whigs, and it is
 that, and no other Reason, which makes
 me think as I do, of the last. And upon
 my Word, my dear Mrs. Freeman, you are
 mightily mistaken in your Notion of a true
 Whig: For the Character, you give of them,
 does not in the least belong to them, but to
 the Church. But I will say no more on
 this Subject, only BEC, for my *poor Sake*,
 that you would not show more Countenance
 to those, you seem to have so much Incli-
 nation for, than to the Church Party.
 Since you have staid so long at *Windsor*, I
 wish now for your own Sake, that you would
 stay till after *my Lord Mayor's Day*; for

' if you are in Town, you can't avoid going
 ' to the Show, and being in the Country is a
 ' just Excuse ; and, I think, one would be
 ' glad of any to avoid so troublesom a Busi-
 ' ness. I am at this Time in great Haste,
 ' and therefore can say no more to my DEAR,
 ' DEAR Mrs. Freeman, but that I am most
 ' passionately Her's.

These are the Proofs you are pleased to give that you were really in the Interest of the *Whigs* : But, Madam, 'tis rather the Motive, than the Fact which is now to be canvassed ; and in order that this may be done fairly, your Grace shall be heard first, and then Leave will be taken to put in a *proper Reply.*

' As my early Zeal for the Whigs is incontestably manifest from what her Majesty here says to me, so, I think, it will be no less evident to any one who reflects on my Situation at that Time, that this Zeal could proceed from nothing but *Conviction of the Goodness of the Cause I espoused.*

' For, as to private Interest, the Whigs could have done nothing for my Advantage

more than the Tories. I needed not the Assistance of either to ingratiate me with the Queen. She had both before and since her Accession, given the most unquestionable Proofs, that she considered me, not only as a most faithful Servant, but as her dear Friend. I have mentioned nothing of her *extreme Goodness* to ME since the Breaking out of the Quarrel between her Sister and her, that I might not interrupt the Relation of that Matter in which my chief Aim was the Justification of my Mistress's Conduct and my own upon that Occasion. Her Letters to me afterwards (of which I have great Numbers still by me) were in the same Strain of *Tenderness* as those you have read; and upon her coming to the Crown, she had not only made ME her Groom of the Stole, and Keeper of the Privy Purse, but had given the Command of the ARMY to my Lord Marlborough, and the TREASURER'S STAFF to my Lord Godolphin, to whose Son my eldest Daughter was married.

It

‘ It is plain therefore that I could have no Motive of private Interest to bias me to the Whigs. Every Body must see, that, had I consulted that Oracle about the Choice of a Party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the Stream of my Mistress’s Inclination and Prejudices. This would have been the surest Way to secure my Favour with her.

‘ Nor had I any particular Obligations to the Whigs that should bend me to their Side rather than to the other. On the contrary, they had treated me very hardly, and I had reason to look upon them as my personal Enemies, at the same Time that I saw the Tories ready to compliment me, and to pay me Court.’

To the strong Expressions your Grace has thought fit to use on the *Disinterestedness* of this Preference given by you to the *Whigs*, it is not yet Time to answer. I am to take Notice, first, That HERE the signal Preferments bestowed on the Lords *Marlborough* and *Godolphin*, are mentioned as bestowed not in Acknowledgment of their Merits, or

because they were *Tories*, but as FAVOURS to you. Whence it follows, that, if they were really *Tories*, it cannot be said, with any Consistency, that the Queen had thrown her Affairs into the Hands of that Party AGAINST your *Wishes* and *Inclinations*, as your Grace before asserted ; nor that you could be heartily sorry such a Disposition had been made ; since it does not appear you ever preferred the Interests of your *Party*, or even of the Kingdom, to that of the *Marlborough-Family*. And if they were THEN SECRETLY *Whigs*, it cannot be said, with any Consistency, that the Queen had thrown her Affairs almost entirely into the Hands of the *Tories* ; it being notorious, that almost all Power is center'd in the Treasury and the Army. Whence it is manifest the *Tories* were only temporiz'd with, not confid'd in, and these Trials of Skill of your Grace with the Queen, were meant but to pave the Way for the Change, which was afterwards brought about.

But you had no Interest to serve in this Change ; the *Whigs* were low, the *Tories* paid their COURT to you, and your own

Turn was serv'd. This is a Brief of the Case; as stated by your Grace; what you would have believed, but surely not what you believe yourself.

In the first Place, it is evident from the Sequel, that your own *Turn* was not serv'd, or at least not *completely*: It was not the Title, Power, or Pay of General only, that bounded Lord Marlborough's Ambition; his Views extended infinitely beyond them, and he could not but foresee what Obstacles the Tories might think it both their Duty or their Interest to throw in his Way. Lord Rochester, the Queen's Uncle, according to your own Account, thought he had a Right to the first Place in her Majesty's Favour, and was ever an open Adversary to your Lord, as well as you; and the whole Party in general, thinking they had a natural Interest in the Queen, looked upon her as their Patroness, and not Lady * * * * *. They however paid their COURT to you, you give us to understand, and even Lord Rochester himself condescended to write you a very fine Piece, to solicit a Place for his Daughter: Which only serves

to prove, that you were already esteemed to be more a Mistress of the Prerogative than the Queen herself; but by no means concludes, you were an absolute Mistress of the Party; and that you were not, is farther evident from the Difficulty made by the *four Tories* nominated to Peerages, to accept of them, if but *one Whig*, tho' supported by your Grace, was suffered to share in the same Honour.

Here then is a sufficient Proof that the *Tories* looked upon themselves as independently established in her Majesty's good Graces, and therefore under no immediate Necessity to truckle meanly to any Favourite whatever: Whereas, on the contrary, the *Whigs* could aspire to that Distinction by no other Way, nor could hold it by any other Tenure: And whether it would suit best with a Person of Lady * * * * *'s Turn to admit of *Rivals*, if it was possible to substitute Vassals in their Place, let the World judge!

But 'tis Time to quit Altercations, to come to Facts: In the Detail of which, I design to divest myself as much as possible of Pre-judice,

judice, and to set forth all I know, or can discover, as becomes a Person who has neither Hopes nor Fears. As a Proof of which, I must take Leave to premise, that, whatever Party prevailed, Faction has always had the Direction of our Councils; and it has been utterly impracticable for any Man, however great, wise or honest, to be admitted into the Service of the Crown, or rather the Ministry, without Compliances, that he could neither relish nor justify. A Mischief ever to be lamented, and, for what yet appears, never to be cur'd!

In pursuance of her Majesty's Speech before quoted, and agreeable to the long-concerted Project of Lord *Marlborough* (who had already been sent to the *Hague* to play the *Stadholder* there) a Council was held *May 2d*, in which a Motion was made for declaring War with *France*, and pushing it with our *whole Strength*, which was warmly supported by those who were for making court to the Favourites. But my Lord *Rochester* was not altogether of that Sentiment; and, in particular set forth,

that

that the Causes assigned for this dangerous Measure did not come home to us ; that the most Christian King's seizing the *Spanish* Monarchy, we had in a Manner justified him in, by acknowledging his Grandson as King of *Spain* : That his seizing *Cadiz*, *Milan*, the *Spanish* Netherlands, and the *West-Indies*, were but proper Precautions for securing the Possession of that Crown : That it was true, these were Steps of great Concern both to the *Emperor* and the *Dutch* ; but that they affected us more remotely ; and scarce at all, if these Powers were able by themselves to make good their Frontier : That if, for fear of the worst, we were obliged to become Parties, the furnishing 10,000 Men to the States, in virtue of a Treaty still subsisting between us, would be a very sufficient Aid, and a full Equivalent to our Share of the Quarrel ; which was immediately no more than the Affront offered to us, by the *French* King's acknowledging the Pretender as King of *England*, &c. and what a very little Address, at this Crisis, would procure a very ample Reparation

tion for : That however, if we resolved to embroil ourselves a-new, it ought rather to be as Auxiliaries than Principals, rather by Sea than Land. In support of which Opinion, he urg'd, with great Strength of Reason, the infinite Expence, and disproportionable Success of our last Enterprizes on the Continent ; which were manifestly calculated to advantage the *Dutch* more than ourselves ; the annual Difficulties and Animosities they occasioned ; the Grievance they were esteemed, and the Burden of Debts they had encumbered us with ; which were still, and still likely to remain, uncancelled : His Lordship farther made it appear, that, what with the Charge of Embarkations, Difference of Pay, &c. a Land-war would cost us, in almost every Branch, double the Money it would cost any other Power in the Confederacy ; and that, therefore, if we meddled with the Continent at all, which he was far from holding either necessary or expedient, it would be most adviseable to furnish our Contingent in Money, (*Germany swarming with Men*) by which Means

the Charge would be known and fix'd, and both the Hazard, and every other Disadvantage would be manifestly less. But his Lordship's principal Drift was to shew, that Land-Wars were none of our Province ; that the Sea was our only Element ; that there we could indeed make it a common Cause ; and by the same Means, both advantage ourselves, and distress the Enemy ; that it was the mistaken, or corrupt Policy of a late Reign to make the *French* formidable at Sea : But that we had since seen sufficient Reason to lament so fatal a Measure : That *La Hogue* had, in Part, reduced this new Pretender to the Sovereignty of the Ocean ; and that, if a proper use was made of the intended Rupture, her present Majesty might have the Glory to finish the rest : That universal Commerce would be a Balance for universal Empire ; and that if the whole Strength of these Kingdoms was exerted as Nature designed it should, it would be much more easy for us to attain the first, than *Louis le Grand* to compass the last.

These

These were the plain, self-evident, and I hope, honest Politics of Lord Rochester; and your Grace very well knows how ill they were *relished* by L. Marlborough; who, sensible they struck at the very Root of his favourite Scheme, opposed them with his whole Weight and Interest: And tho' he had little to urge in answer; But that we were bound in Honour to make good the late King's Engagements; that it suited better with the *Grandeur, Importance, and Glory* of her Majesty to be at the Head of the Confederacy, than to be considered only as a Supplement to it; and that nothing less than such a vigorous Measure would disarm *France* of her present Terrors; yet being seconded by the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, (that very Duke of *Devonshire* sneer'd at for his *magnificent Air* in your Grace's first Section) the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord *Godolphin*, and as many more as made a Majority, the last of these Cabinet-Rivals carried the Day; the Consequences of which were, that War was * declared

* The Causes express'd in the Declaration were, That the late King *William* had, by the repeated Advice of Parliament,

clared the 4th of May, and Lord Godolphin was honoured with the Treasurer's Staff the 6th.

Your Grace has been pleased to record, that my Lord Rochester was a great Man among the Tories: If, therefore, this great Man thus early oppos'd my Lord Marlborough at the Council-Board, it must be as soon, and actually was, apprehended, that he might in Time influence those of his Party in either House to do the same. Here then

ment, entered into Alliances with the Emperor, States-General, and other Potentates, for preserving the Liberty and Balance of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant Power of France; because of the French King's unjustly taking and keeping Possession of great part of the Spanish Dominions, exercising an absolute Authority over all that Monarchy; seizing Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands, by his Armies; making himself Master of Cadiz, of the Entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the Ports of the Spanish West-Indies; desirous to invade the Liberty of Europe, and to obstruct the Freedom of Navigation. And whereas, instead of giving just Satisfaction; he has added the Indignity and Affront of declaring the pretended Prince of Wales, King of Great-Britain and Ireland, and has influenced Spain to concur in the same: Therefore for maintaining the public Faith of Treaties, for vindicating the Honour of the Crown, and for the preventing the Mischiefs which all Europe is threatned with, her Majesty declared War against France and Spain, by Sea and Land; and forbade all Communication and Correspondence with France or Spain, or their Subjects; but promised Protection to the Persons and Estates of the Subjects of France and Spain, in her Majesty's Dominions, who shall demean themselves dutifully.

is the Reason, why in Point of *Interest*, you had Cause to be apprehensive of the *Tories*, and consequently, why you should from henceforward open a Door for Admittance to the *Whigs*.

That I may clear the Way as I go, I am now obliged to return to your Grace; tho' in so doing, I am aware my Performance will resemble the *Tragi-Comedies* formerly in *Vogue*; or perhaps may approach almost as near to *Farce* on one Hand, as *History* on the other.

I have already seen Cause to mention that Lord *Rochester* had condescended to write you a *very fine Piece*, according to your Grace's arch Expression, to desire that Lady *Dalkeith*, his Daughter, might be made a Lady of the Bed-chamber; on which Occasion you express the *Greatness* of your *Surprise*; thank GOD for your *Proneness* to forgive your *Enemies*; renew your Charge against his Lordship of having persecuted you *without a Cause*; declare that *Want of Bread* could not have induced you to ask a *Favour* of one you had *injured*; slide in

by way of Reflection, —— But surely his Lordship had something very uncommon in his Temper; and, in the End, give us to understand, that his Request was refused.

But first we are told, that Lady Hyde, his Son's Wife, having before applied to you for a like Favour, you had thought it REASONABLE to GRANT it, tho' you assign one of the oddest Reasons for it imaginable, viz. For in your Life you never saw any Mortal have such a Passion for any Thing, as she had to be in this Post. While the Thing was depending, she had so much Concern upon her, that she never spoke to you without Blushing. And after it was granted, she made you more EXPRESSIONS than ever you had from any Body on any Occasion. An excellent Picture of artless, innocent, feminine Ambition! The Effect of which the simply-grateful Letter you expose from her Ladyship cannot lessen, nor the * Reflection so haughtily insinuated at the End of it, efface!

But your Grace proceeds to account why

* 'In what Manner this Lady treated me afterwards, is not worth while to mention.' *Account*, p. 145.

my Lord Rochester's Request was refused, in
the following Manner.

' As to my Lord Rochester's Request in
' Behalf of my Lady Dalkeith, it could not
' be granted; because in Reality there was no
' Vacancy. The Queen had resolved to
' have no more than TEN Ladies, and the
' Number was complete. There had in-
' deed been ELEVEN for some short Time;
' but this had been occasioned by the Duchefs
' of Somerset's declining to accept one of
' these Places, when it was offered her at the
' settling of the Queen's Family, and soon
' after desiring to have it, when they were
' all filled. As she was the FIRST Protef-
' tant Duchef of England, I PERSUADED
' the Queen to be pleased, in COMPLIMENT
' to her Grace, to have eleven Ladies for the
' little Time Lady Charlotte Beverwaert had
' to live, who was then irrecoverably ill. So
' that when her Majesty complied, it was
' with full Purpose that the Number of her
' Ladies should be only ten after Lady Char-
' lotte's Death.'

Thus it appears the Queen could recede from her System at your Grace's PERSUASION in Favour of the FIRST DUCHESS, but not in Favour of her FIRST COUSIN without it: Which is the Substance of the whole Page before us. — But this, Madam, is only your Way of telling your Story. According to others, Lady *Dalkeith* was rejected, for Fear the MARLBOROUGH-FAMILY should be oppos'd in the Bed-chamber, as well as the Cabinet, by THAT of the QUEEN.

Had your Grace, however, stopt here, perhaps your Apology might have held: But, unfortunately, having still another Shaft to dart at Lord *Rochester*, you let it fly, and it recoils upon yourself.

' I have been the more particular on this
 ' Affair, that it may appear, the Refusal my
 ' Lord *Rochester* met with was not owing to
 ' any Resentment of MINE against him or his
 ' Family. [And I do assure you most sincere-
 ' ly, that I could so entirely have forgotten
 ' all his Lordship's ill Treatment of me, as to
 ' have acted in CONCERT and FRIENDSHIP
 ' with him, if I had thought he would have
 ' followed

' followed the QUEEN'S TRUE INTEREST.'

Here the whole Secret is out. Would my Lord Rochester have been prevailed upon to have *caball'd* it with your Grace, and to have reckon'd the TRUE INTEREST OF THE QUEEN to be that of the MARLBOROUGH-FAMILY, in all Probability he had carried this Point, or any other; and, over and above, might have been complimented with a Statue in the *Temple of Fame*, raised by that surprizing Genius, S— D— of M—.

But it was his Lordship's Misfortune to see Things in a different Light; and the Merit of not sacrificing his Conscience to his Interest, was all he had to compensate what he lost while he liv'd, and is all that remains to put into the Balance against your Grace's immortal Resentiments on that Account.

The only general Use that can be made of this Detail, is to remind the Reader of these two Things, viz. That the Duchess of Somerset's Husband had given his Vote in Council agreeable to the Projects of Lord Marl-

borough, and Lady *Dalkeith's* Father had opposed them.

To return now to our publick Affairs.

To come partly into Lord *Rochester's* Politics, not because they were his, but because they agreed most with the Inclinations of the People, it had been resolved in Council, to prosecute the War with equal Vigour both by Sea and Land ; and, to countenance this Resolution, as well as manifest their own Forwardness in the common Cause, the *States* ordered a Fleet to be fitted out with all imaginable Expedition, to act in Concert with that of *England*. Which arrived at *Portsmouth*, says *BURNET*, invidiously, a Month before ours was ready. He should have said, before the Army, Artillery, &c, could be embark'd, and so vast a Body put in Motion.

But it is necessary to observe once for all, that as the Sea-Service was, during this whole War, considered as subordinate to the Land, so most of our Time-serving Historians have decry'd our Naval Exploits as much as possible, in order to throw an additional

Glory on our Favourite Captain-General, who was to be the *sole* Hero of their Story; which was likewise look'd upon to be the more necessary, since Sir *George Rook*, who had the Command of the Fleet, was not of the *Marlborough-Faction*, nor could be prevailed upon to bow down to the *Court-Idol*.

He had likewise no Opinion of the intended Expedition, and expressed his Sentiments upon it freely; which gave Occasion to his Enemies to brand him with being the wilful Cause of its ill Success; as if any Man, however unconcerned for the Interest and Glory of his Country, would be mad enough to sacrifice his own.

Even before he set Sail, one Instance of Party-malice appeared against him; for having dispatched Sir *John Munden* (an Officer, who, by the Confession of his Enemies, had never misbehaved) to intercept a *French* Squadron in its Passage from *Brest* to the *Groyne*, without the desired Effect, the Disappointment was laid to his Account; and tho' Sir *John* was most honourably acquitted by a Court-Martial, of which Sir *Cloudsley*

Shovel was President, the Queen was induced to break him notwithstanding.

In July 1. the confederate Fleet sailed from St. Hellens, and arrived before Cadiz, August 12th, when a Council of War was immediately held, in which the Duke of Ormond, eager to distinguish himself, gave it as his Opinion, that the Place should be attack'd without Delay : The Admiral was likewise for trying the Experiment, which is acknowledged by his Enemies ; but because both the Duke and he were over-ruled by the almost general Opinion of both Land and Sea-Officers, which form'd the Council, on a State of the Difficulty and Danger of the Attempt, and the wide Difference between the real Strength of the Place, and the Representation made of it in England, this Disappointment was likewise charged upon Rook, and gave Rise to an Examination in the House of Lords, of which more will be said presently.

A Descent was however made on the 15th, in the Bay of Bulls ; in consequence of which the Forces marched on to La Rota and

and *Port St. Maries*, which last Place was plundered by the Soldiers and some of the principal Officers, in Defiance of the Duke's Orders to the contrary. The next Attempt was on *Matagorda-Fort*, over-against the *Puntiles*, against which a Battery was raised; but the Guns, at every Discharge, sinking into the Sand, the whole Design was found impracticable, as at first represented by *Rook*; the Army was reembark'd, and the whole Fleet set Sail on their Return to *England*.

Thus had ended this Summer's Naval Expedition, if mere Chance had not given our Commanders Intelligence that the *Spanish Plate-Fleet*, under Convoy of a *French Squadron*, had put into *Vigo*; upon which the Admiral resolved (unwillingly, says *Burnet*) to follow them: And the Success here became an unexpected Atonement for the former Disgrace. No less than 15 Men of War and 8 Galleons being sunk, and five Men of War and as many Galleons taken.

I have inserted this Abridgment of the *Cadiz-Expedition*, now almost forgot, to make it visible from Circumstances at least, that

that our Efforts at Sea were rather calculated to serve as a Foil to those at Land, than by their Mal-Execution to throw an Odium on the War in general. And this will appear yet more probable, when it is recollect'd, that the Duke of Ormond himself assured Bishop Burnet, *That he had not half the Ammunition necessary for the taking of Cadiz, if they had defended themselves well; tho' he BELIEVED they would not have made any great Resistance, if he had landed on his first Arrival, and not given them Time to recover the Disorder they had first put themselves into.*

But what puts the Matter of Fact, in my humble Opinion, as it were out of Doubt, is the Account of Sir George Rook's Examination before alluded to, even as given by this partial Prelate, which I shall make no Scruple to quote at Length, tho' manifestly warp'd to serve the Purposes of a Party; and abounding with invidious Reflections, which seem to have little beside the Author's Prejudices for their Support.

A Committee of Peers, says his Lordship, sat long upon the Matter. They examined

examined all the Admirals and Land-Officers,
 as well as *Rook* himself, upon the whole Pro-
 gress of that Affair. *Rook* was so well sup-
 ported by the COURT, and by his Party in
 the House of Commons, that he seemed
 to despise all the Lords could do. Some
 who understood Sea-Affairs said, that it
 appeared from every Motion he made dur-
 ing the Expedition, that he intended to do
 nothing but *amuse* and make a *Shew*.
 They also concluded, from the Protection
 the MINISTRY gave him, that they
 intended no other. He took much Pains
 to shew how *improper* a Thing a Descent
 on Cadiz was ; and how *fatal* the At-
 tempt must have proved ; and in doing
 this he arraigned his *Instructions*, and the
 Design he was sent on with great Bold-
 ness, and shewed little Regard to the Mi-
 NISTERS, who took more Pains to bring
 HIM OFF, than to *justify* themselves. The
 Lords of the Committee prepared a Re-
 port which was hard upon *Rook*, and laid
 it before the House ; but so strong a Par-
 ty was made to oppose every thing that
 re-

reflected on him, that tho' every Particular
 in the Report was well prov'd, yet it was
 rejected, and a Vote was carried in his Fa-
 vour, justifying his whole Conduct. The
 great Employment (meaning the Lieu-
 tenancy of *Ireland* vacant by the Resigna-
 tion of Lord Rochester) given to the Duke
 of *Ormond*, so effectually prevailed on
 him, that tho' the Enquiry was set on by
 his Means, and upon his Suggestions, yet
 he *came not to the House*, when it was
 brought to a Conclusion; so *Rook* being
 but faintly push'd by him, and most zeal-
 ously supported by his Party, was justify'd
 by a VOTE, tho' universally condemned
 by more impartial Judges. The Behavi-
 our of the MINISTRY in this Matter,
 heightened the Jealousies with which they
 were possessed; for it was inferred that
 they were not *in Earnest* in this *whole*
Expedition; since the *Conduct* being so
 contrary to the *Instructions*, their *justify-*
ing the *one* was plainly *condemning* the
other.

I am obliged, Madam, for the sake of throwing this whole Affair together, and the Conclusion to be drawn from it, to anticipate some Facts that lye farther off in Point of Time: But to pursue Truth in my Work, I hope will be thought no Digression, whatever it may be in your Grace's: And from the Bishop's own Words, it is obvious enough, that Marine Expeditions were *purposely* to be brought into Disgrace; and that King *William's* Politics (before condemned by your Grace) in not permitting Prince *George* to distinguish himself in Arms, were now copied in the almost similar Case of Lord *Marlborough* and the Duke of *Ormond*; in as much as the last, tho' honour'd with a Command, was sent upon an Undertaking which might have been fatal to him; and, as soon as possible, was laid aside, under the plausible Pretence of rewarding him with the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*.

I have before signify'd, Madam, that the free Strokes in the preceding Quotation from the *Bishop* against the *Court* and the *Ministers*, were meant only to reflect an

Odium

Odium on the Tories, as supposed to be adverse to the War, and consequently liable to have all these Mistakes and Mismanagements laid to their Account. But Readers cannot be induc'd to judge as Prelates sometimes vote, by Direction.

The *Court* and *Ministry* were as yet all Tories alike : Lord *Rochester* had no longer any Influence. Your Grace, Lord *Marlborough*, and Lord *Godolphin*, were at the Head of all Things ; and, unless it can be supposed you left the Sea at Discretion to the Lord-High-Admiral, *Pembroke*, a-part of the Council, or made it a Province to the two Secretaries Lord *Nottingham*, and Sir *Charles Hedges*, it cannot be understood that the Words *Court* and *Ministry* were applicable to them *only* : But, merely to excite an ill Opinion of the War, 'tis scarce to be conceived that Men would venture to draw down an ill Opinion upon themselves : And if the said Secretaries or any Body else, had betray'd the least Inclination to blast the Powers above them, it is not to be supposed that the said superior Powers,

so provoked, would not have immediately testified their Resentment, and rather join'd the Cry in the House of Lords against Sir George Rook's supposed ill Conduct, than us'd their utmost Efforts to bring him off.

Either, therefore, I have done no Violence to Truth, in drawing Conclusions against one Party, from Premisses levelled against the other; or else both, tho' from different Motives, were guilty alike.

In this Interval Lord Marlborough, having put himself at the Head of the Confederate Army, not only obliged Marshal Boufflers to retire before him; but falling into the Spanish Guelderland, reduced Venlo, Ruremond, Stevenzwert and Liege; and tho' he fell into the Hands of the French in his Return, luckily extricated himself again, and arriv'd in England towards the End of the Year; being deservedly received with great Acknowledgments by the Public for his military Conduct, and honour'd soon after with the Title of * Duke by her Majesty.

Thus far all was smooth. His Grace's Behaviour had been unexceptionable abroad;

and

* He had been created a Knight of the Garter before.

and at home, the People had returned a Tory-Parliament in compliment to the Court: So that the Session was expected to pass over as triumphantly as the Campaign; of which what could be a happier Omen than the following Paragraph in the Commons Address?

' The late Disappointment at *Cadiz* does the more affect us, because it gives your Majesty so much Trouble; but this Misfortune cannot make us forget, that the Protection and Security of our Trade, the vigorous Support of your Majesty's Allies, and the wonderful Progress of your Majesty's Arms under the Conduct of the Earl of *Marlborough* have signally retrieved the ancient Honour and Glory of the English Nation.'

'Tis remarkable that the *Whigs* were as yet so little attached to Lord *Marlborough*, that they struggled hard to get the Word MAIN-TAINED inserted instead of RETRIEVED; but lost it by 100 Voices; and that the Lord *Rochester*, that great Man among the Tories, as he is called by your Grace, had

opposed Lord *Marlborough* in Council in *May*, and the new Parliament did not meet till *October*, yet none of the Party had as yet publicly appeared to espouse either his Reasons or Resentments.

Your Grace indeed very justly charges *them* with introducing the *Occasional-Conformity-Bill*, with a malicious Design of making it a *Test*, whereby her Majesty might *distinguish* her *Friends* from her *Foes*: But, on its being lost in the House of Lords, but by one Vote, on three different Divisions, Bishop *Burnet* tells us, The four *Tory* Lords, before mentioned, were created on *Purpose* to secure a Majority for that very Bill. Nay he adds, That the *COURT* put *their whole STRENGTH* to carry the *Bill*, in so much that Prince *George*, tho' an *Occasional Conformist* himself, was induced to come to the House and give his Vote in its Favour. Can it be imagin'd, then, that Lord *Marlborough*, or Lord *Godolphin* execused themselves? Nay, doth it appear, either from the Bishop's, or your Grace's Book, that they ever endeavoured

voured it? On the contrary, 'tis a Certainty, that they then voted for it; tho' for Reasons of State, they saw Cause to drop it afterwards.

No reasonable Person will dispute with your Grace, but that the Queen's Prejudices in Favour of the Church exposed her to many unfair Practices; and that the Party then uppermost in her Favour, hoped and endeavoured to govern her by that Means: But were not the two Lords above mentioned of that Party too? And is not a Share of the Guilt of bringing in this very *Occasional-Conformity-Bill*, for the first Time at least, be laid at their Door?

The open Rupture between the Tories and the *Marlborough-Family* is not to be ascribed then to this Bill, whether unreasonable or not; and we must look out for some other Cause, which, perhaps, we shall find in the following Incident, not the only one, most discreetly left unnoticed both by your Grace and Bishop *Burnet*.

' On the 10th of *December* the following Message was brought to the House of Com-

‘ Commons by Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, sign-
‘ ed by the Queen herself.

‘ ANNE R.

‘ The Earl of *Marlborough*’s Services to
‘ her Majesty, and to the Public, have been
‘ so eminent, both in his Command of the
‘ Army, and in his having established an
‘ entire Confidence and good Correspond-
‘ ence between her Majesty and the States-
‘ General; that she has thought fit to grant
‘ the Title of a Duke of this Kingdom to
‘ him, and to the Heirs Male of his Body,
‘ and also a Pension of * 5000 l. *per Ann.*
‘ upon the Revenue of the Post-Office, for
‘ the Support of this Honour, during her
‘ Majesty’s natural Life. If it had been
‘ in her Majesty’s Power, she would have
‘ granted the same Term in the Pension as in
‘ the Honour; and she hopes you will think
‘ it so reasonable in this Case, as to find
‘ some proper Methods of doing it.’

N 2

The

* It was said on this Occasion, That the Queen intended to give the Duke of *Marlborough*, all the GOLD taken by the Duke of *Ormond* at *Vigo*.

The Commons, after the reading of this Message, seemed, for some time, to be in a Maze, and kept so long silent, that (it was said) the Speaker stood up, and looked round, to see if any body would speak to it: And at length Sir *Edward Seymour* having broke the Ice, the Debate ran very high upon the Occasion ; and amongst others common Fame gave out, that Sir *Christopher Musgrave* should say, ‘ That though he had accepted of an Employment at Court, yet, he never did it with a Design that his Mouth should be sewed up in that House, when any thing was offered that he thought detrimental to his Country : That he would not derogate from the Duke’s eminent Services ; but that he was very well paid for them, &c.’ And the House at length having wisely weighed this important Affair, instead of complying with the Message, on the 21st, presented the following Address to her Majesty in relation to it.

' Most gracious Sovereign, We your Ma-
 ' jesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects the
 ' Commons in Parliament assembled, hum-
 ' bly beg leave to declare our unanimous
 ' Satisfaction in the just Esteem your Ma-
 ' jesty has been pleased to express of the
 ' eminent Services performed by the Duke
 ' of *Marlborough*; who has not only, by
 ' his Conduct of the Army, retrieved the
 ' antient Glory and Honour of the *English*
 ' Nation, but by his Negotiation establish-
 ' ed an entire Confidence and good Cor-
 ' respondence between your Majesty and
 ' the States-General, and therein vindicated
 ' the Gentlemen of *England*, who had, by
 ' the vile Practices of designing Men, been
 ' traduced, and industriously represented as
 ' false to your Majesty's Allies, because
 ' they were true to the Interest of their
 ' Country.

' It is to their unexpressible *Grief*, that
 ' your Majesty's most dutiful Commons find
 ' any Instances, where they are *unable* to
 ' comply with what your Majesty proposes
 ' to them; but they beg leave humbly to

‘ lay before your Majesty the Apprehensions
 ‘ they have of making a *Precedent* for the
 ‘ future *Alienations* of the Revenue of the
 ‘ Crown, which has been so much reduced
 ‘ by the *exorbitant Grants* of the last Reign,
 ‘ and which has been so lately settled and
 ‘ secured by your Majesty’s unparalleled
 ‘ Grace and Goodness.’

‘ We are infinitely pleased to observe by
 ‘ your Majesty’s late gracious Acceptance of
 ‘ the Duke of *Marlborough’s Services*, that
 ‘ the only way to obtain your Majesty’s Fa-
 ‘ vour, is to deserve well from the Public;
 ‘ and we beg leave to assure your Majesty,
 ‘ that whenever you shall think fit to reward
 ‘ such Merit, it will be to the entire Satis-
 ‘ faction of your People.’

To which her Majesty returned the fol-
 lowing Answer :

‘ I shall always think myself much con-
 ‘ cerned to reward those who deserve well
 ‘ of me, and the Public: On this account
 ‘ I bestowed some Favours on the Duke of

‘ Marl-

' Marlborough, and I am glad to find you
 think they are well placed.'

Now, Madam, can it any longer be maintained that you had no Interest to serve by changing Sides, and endeavouring to bring the Whigs into Play? Or is it to be wondered at that your Grace could never forgive the Party who *disappointed* you, for the Time being, at least, of such a delicious Morsel? But, on the other hand, how is it to be reconciled, that your Grace should one while *scruple* to accept a precarious Pension of *one Thousand Pounds* a Year, as too much, and now should urge the Queen so unseasonably to demand a *Perpetuity of Five Thousand Pounds* for little more than *Five Months Service*?

However, not to choak your Grace with Queries, which I know you will scarce be able to swallow, it is morally certain that it was owing to this untoward Circumstance that you conceived so violent an Antipathy to the *High-Church-Nonsense* of *Non-resistance*, *Passive-Obedience*, &c. and that from hence,

in Conjunction with their perpetual Dread of Lord Rochester, your two Coadjutors were induced to desert their old Principles and Friends, and direct the Stream of Court-Favour into another Channel.

That, upon the Whole, the Fire-Brand-Bill, so often mentioned, was neither introduced, nor so violently contended for, to answer any one good End, I agree with your Grace: But that you had ever, on that Account merely, deserted the Tories, and struck up an Alliance with the Whigs, if the first would have condescended to do the Drudgery required of them, I see no Cause from any one Action of her Majesty's THREE MANAGERS to believe.

It has been already signified, that Lord Rochester had resigned the Lieutenancy of Ireland: It is now necessary to take Notice in how good-natur'd a Way your Grace tells the Story.

' My Lord Rochester was, I think, the
 ' first of the Tory Leaders that discovered a
 ' deep Discontent with the Queen and her
 ' Administration. Before the End of the
 ' Year

' Year he resigned the Lieutenancy of *Ire-*
 ' *land* in great *Wrath*, upon her Majesty's
 ' being so unreasonable as to press him to
 ' go thither to attend the Affairs of that
 ' Kingdom, which greatly needed his Pre-
 ' sence. For as the Revenue which had
 ' been formerly granted was out, it was ne-
 ' cessary to call a Parliament in order to a-
 ' nother Supply; and a Parliament could
 ' not be held without a Lord-Lieutenant.
 ' But when the Queen *represented* these
 ' Things to him, he told her with **GREAT**
 ' **INSOLENCE**, that *he would not go into*
 ' Ireland, though *she would give the Coun-*
 ' *try to him and his Son*; so that he seems
 ' to have *accepted* the Post *only* that he
 ' might reign in *Ireland* by the Ministry of
 ' his Brother *Keightley*, as he hoped to do
 ' in *England*, in Person. Nor could he,
 ' after his Resignation, overcome his An-
 ' ger so far as to wait upon the Queen
 ' or go to Council; which she observing or-
 ' dered, after some time, that he should no
 ' more be summoned, saying, "it was not
 " reason-

" able my Lord Rochester should come to
" Council only when he pleased.

' Perhaps his Lordship's Unwillingness to
' leave *England*, might proceed from his
' Zeal for the Church, and from his Fears
' lest it should be betray'd in his Absence.
' But it was generally thought, and I be-
' lieve with good Reason, that the true
' Source of his Dissatisfaction was the
' Queen's not making him her sole Gover-
' nor and Director, and my Lord Godol-
' phin's being preferred before him for the
' Treasury: which if true, affords a remark-
' able Instance, how much Self-Love and
' Self-Conceit can blind even a Man of
' Sense; for such, by his Party at least, he
' was esteemed to be. I don't wonder that
' he should like POWER (it is what most
' People are fond of) or that, being related
' to the Queen, he should expect a parti-
' cular Consideration. This was very na-
' tural and very reasonable, if HE HAD
' BEHAVED HIMSELF TO HER AS HE
' OUGHT: But when one considers, that
' his Relation to her was by SUCH A SORT

' OF ACCIDENT, and that his Conduct
 ' had been so very extraordinary, 'tis an
 ' amazing Thing that he should imagine,
 ' he was to DOMINEER over the Queen
 ' and every Body else, as he did over his
 ' own Family.

In Answer to all this, Madam, I will not take upon me to say that my Lord Rochester's Discontent was not partly the Effect of Disappointment as well as Patriotism. He was a Man ; and had, in rather too violent a Degree, the Passions of a Man : But then, his Services to the State were not much inferiour to those of Lord Godolphin ; nor, in spite of Party-Prejudices, did he want either Ability or Integrity to qualify him for the highest Offices. To the same *Accident* that the Queen owed her Birth, he owed his Relation to her Majesty ; which, however sneer'd at by your Grace, deserved to be treated with rather more Respect than the *Accident* of your being her *Play-fellow*. He had given her in Council the best Advice in the World, as is now but too fatally manifest, and she had been influenc'd (how, your Grace best knows)

knows) to follow the worst. Having thus lost all Confidence at Court, 'tis no Wonder he did not countenance Measures he could not approve ; nor that Advantage should be taken of his Discontent, to banish him to *Ireland* ; or, in case he declin'd the Service, as perhaps it was foreseen he would, to make it a Snare to send thither another obnoxious Person in his Room.

Every one of these Particulars is natural, and the Way of the World : But that he who treated the *Princess* with such profound Respect, should insult his *Sovereign*, according to your Grace's Account, is another Stroke of the *Marvellous*, which runs with so rich a Vein, and shines with such distinguished Lustre thorough your whole Apology.

Your old Friend the Bishop, Madam, recounts the Circumstance of his Lordship's Resignation simply thus.

' At this Time the Earl of *Rochester* quitted his Place of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. He was uneasy at the Preference which the Duke of *Marlborough* had in the Queen's Confidence, and at the Lord
 ' *Godolphin's*

‘ Godolphin’s being Lord Treasurer. It was
 ‘ generally believed he was endeavouring to
 ‘ embroil our Affairs, and that he was laying a
 ‘ Train of Opposition in the House of Commons.
 ‘ The Queen sent a Message to him, ordering
 ‘ him to make ready to go to *Ireland*; for it
 ‘ seemed strange, especially in a Time of
 ‘ War, that a Person in so great a Post, should
 ‘ not attend upon it: But he, after some
 ‘ Days *advising* about it, went to the Queen
 ‘ and desired to be excused from that Em-
 ‘ ployment. This was readily accepted, and
 ‘ upon that he retired from the Councils.

Your Grace and the Bishop agree pretty
 well in setting forth the Reasons of his Dis-
 gust; but differ widely in the Manner of
 his laying down: there being not the least
 Hint of the great *Insolence* to be trac’d in
 one Account, which glares so remarkably in
 the other: According to *this*, the Queen con-
 descends to *represent* to him in Person: Ac-
 cording to *that*, she contents herself with
 sending a Message only; which last being
 the Matter of Fact, (as I have been
 assured it was) it is scarce to be imagin’d,
that

that he, who was, at first, cool enough to advise about his Answer for some Days, should, in the Issue, grow so rash as to affront her Majesty to her Face.

Your Grace, however, has the Goodness to insinuate, that his Relation to the Queen, however ACCIDENTAL, entitled him to expect a *particular Consideration*, provided *he had behaved to her as he ought*. Words that drop from your Pen with a peculiar Propriety ! But you add, it was an *amazing Thing* that he should imagine he was to DOMINEER, &c. Here I close with your Grace... It was *really* an amazing Thing ; considering that *Office* was already granted to ONE who never fail'd to make the most of it, as will be explain'd more at large in the Sequel.

The Tories were now split into two Parts : Those who continued with, and shar'd in the Fortunes of the Favourites, and those who espoused the Maxims and Resentments of Lord Rochester : Which State-Schism your Grace very well knows was entirely owing to the Cormorant-Appetites of some Persons,

Persons, who both monopolized the Sunshine of the Court, and stak'd the Wealth, Strength, Honour, and Happiness of the whole Nation on one Cast, as one may say, to aggrandize themselves.

This, however, when the Parliament was first chosen, it is manifest, was not apprehended: But the Reception of the Message to the House of Commons, relating to the 5000 £. a Year-Perpetuity, open'd your Eyes: You then saw, Madam, that tho' the House made good the Supplies cheerfully and speedily, and even granted an additional Ten thousand Men to strengthen your Lord's Hands in *Flanders*, it was rather out of Affection to the Queen than in Compliment to him.

The Occasional-Conformity-Bill, which had given such just Umbrage to the Whigs, now appear'd to be the Devil's own Handy-Work, and as such, was, if possible, to be run down. The Whigs were now talk'd of at Court as the Queen's best Subjects; a good Understanding was established between the Junto at the Head of Affairs and them; and

a Prospect was opened to them of the promised Land.

In the Interval between the Sessions, the Duke of Marlborough passed over into Flanders, and opened the Campaign with the Siege of Bonne ; which capitulated in ten Days. Soon after which Boufflers having been detach'd from Marshal Villeroy's Army, to surprize the Dutch Forces under Opdam, at Echeren, his Grace was thought to have committed an Oversight, in not having attacked Villeroy, while thus weaken'd on one Side, or supported Opdam, who was over-powered on the other. He afterwards took Huy, Limbourg, and Guelder; which were the whole of his Exploits during this Campaign.

In this Interval, likewise, the Foundation of the subsequent War in Spain being laid, a grand Design of King William's, to make certain important Acquisitions in the Bay of Mexico, was laid aside, for Fear of giving Offence to the Spanish Nation ; and the King of Portugal was courted into the grand Alliance, on the most extravagant Terms

that can be conceived ; such as the extending his Frontier in Spain, tho' at the same Time, we were obliged to desist from our Designs on the *West-Indies* ; the submitting our Fleets to his Command, or even that of his Viceroy, Governors, &c. and yielding him the Honour of the *Flag* in his own Ports : Which last Article Lord *Nottingham* warmly objected to, as a Disgrace to the *English Nation* ; but for the Honour of Lord *GODOLPHIN*'s round Proceedings, as they are called by *Burnet*, he prevailed with the Queen to ratify the Treaty.

As to our Conduct at Sea this Summer, it even countenanced that of the last. The Dutch had now found out the Secret, and thought they might very safely retard those Preparations which were to be of no Use. *Rook* was for some Time sick with the ill Prospect before him ; and when he did sail, was equip'd with such Orders, as amounted to no more than to go out and come Home. So that nothing was either done or attempted. But, as the Bishop of St. *Asaph* said by our ~~equalizing of the Oligarchy~~ Enemies,

Enemies, in his famous *Preface*, let his Brother of Sarum tell the rest.

' It was after this resolved to send a strong Fleet into the Mediterranean : It was near the End of June before they were ready to sail, and they had Orders to come out of the Streights by the End of September : Every Thing was so ill laid in this Expedition, as if it had been intended that nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our Merchant-Ships, which did not require the 4th Part of such a Force. Shovel was sent to command : When he saw his Instructions, he represented to the MINISTRY, That nothing could be expected from this Voyage. He was ordered to go, and he obeyed his Orders. He got to Leghorn by the Beginning of September. His Arrival seem'd to be of great Consequence, and the Allies began to take great Courage from it : But they were soon disappointed of their Hopes, when they understood by his Orders, he could only stay a few Days there. Nor was it easy to imagine what the Design of so great an Expedition

dition could be, or why so much Money
 was thrown away on such a Project, which
 made us despised by our Enemies, while it
 provok'd our Friends, who might justly
 think they could not depend upon such an
 Ally, who managed so great a Force with
 so poor a Conduct, as neither to hurt their
 Enemies, nor protect their Friends by it.'

Here again the Blame of all is openly
 thrown upon the MINISTRY, without the
 least Discrimination, at the Head of which it
 was impossible Lord Nottingham should be
 supposed, because we have just been furnish'd
 with an Instance of his being oblig'd to sub-
 mit his Opinion to that of Lord Godolphin.

To say all in a Word, our whole Marine
 was, at this Time, most deplorably manag'd ;
 a Junto, (no Matter of what Party) headed
 by a Brother of the D. of Marlborough's, under
 the Umbrage, and by the Stile of Council
 to Prince George, now Lord High-Admiral
 in the Room of Lord Pembroke, being suf-
 fered to act as wickedly or corruptly as they
 pleased, as appeared, among many other In-
 stances, in the Victualling ; which was so perni-

cious, that many Men were said to be poisoned with it, &c. &c.

These Things, I am sensible, Madam, are somewhat foreign to my first Design ; but I am desirous my Book should be of Use : A Consideration which would have been no Dishonour to your Grace.

We are come now to the second Session of this Tory-Parliament, which met in the same Humour they parted ; that is to say, with Hearts and Hands devoted to the Church, or rather to the political Superstructure which they designed to raise upon it. In plain *English*, the Queen was a Devotee, the Clergy had their Weight, and the Church was to be a Tool.

I have often acknowledged and lamented the Prevalence of Faction in all our Views and Undertakings both at home and abroad ; and, tho' I appear in Opposition to your Grace as at the Head of one, you see I am no profess'd Advocate for the other.

The Occasional Conformity-Bill was again brought in, but not with the Court-Sanction as before. Thus, tho' four Peers had been lately made

made in order to give Weight to the Tory-Scale in the House of Lords, Ways and Means were found out to counter-balance it again.—Even the Prince of *Denmark* withdrew his Countenance, her Majesty, in her very Speech, had insinuated her Disapprobation; and above half of the Bishops themselves divided against it: The Consequence of all which was, that, tho' it passed the Commons, as before, it was rejected by the Lords; and that with a Majority of twelve this Session, tho' but of one the last.

It is, however, remarkable, on one Hand, that this very House of Commons, who stickled so hard for this Party-*Shibboleth*, and have been held in general such Obstacles to the War, both granted and dispatched the Supplies with all the Readiness and Clear-fulness imaginable; and, on the other, that her Majesty, tho' she no longer patroniz'd Church-Extravagance, at this Time made a Grant of the first Fruits and Tents, in favour of the poorer Clergy. So *Janus-fac'd* is Policy!

Disappointment either begets Rage, or Despair. The Tories were only incensed; they had not, as yet, had Time to despond: Believing themselves, therefore, to be stronger than they were, and their Adversaries weaker; that in Heart the * Queen was still their Friend,

* Which Opinion of their's was not ill-grounded, as appears by the following Letter from her Majesty to the Duchess.

I give my dear Mrs. Freeman many Thanks for her long Letter, and am truly sensible of the sincere Kindness you express in it; and in Return, to ease your Mind, I must tell you, Mr. Bromley will be disappointed, for the Prince does not intend to go to the House, when the Bill of Occasional Conformity is brought in; but at the same Time that I think him very much in the right not to vote in it, I shall not have the worse Opinion of any of the Lords that are for it; for tho' I should have been very glad it had not been brought into the House of Commons, because I would not have had any Pre-tence given for quarrelling; I can't help thinking, now it is as good as past there, it will be better for the Service to have it pass the House of Lords too. I must own to you, that I never cared to mention any thing on this Subject to you, because I knew you would not be of my Mind; but since you have given me this Occasion, I can't forbear saying, that I see nothing like Persecution in this Bill. You may think it is a Notion Lord Nottingham has put it into my Head, but upon my Word it is my own Thought. I am in Hopes I shall have one LOOK before you go to St. Albans, and therefore will say no more now, but will answer your Letter more at large, some other Time; and only promise my

Friend, and that they were sure of the People, they held their Heads higher, talk'd louder, and declared themselves without Reserve. In particular, they indiscreetly push'd my Lord *Nottingham* to insist, that certain Whig-Lords should be removed from Council, or to resign the Seals : Of which impolitic Step, and their late Intemperance in the House of Commons, such Advantage was taken, that the Queen, instead of complying, was prevail'd with to humble the whole Party at once, by dismissing Lord *Jersey* and Sir *Edward Seymour* from their Employments of Comptroller and Lord-Chamberlain of the Household : Upon which Lord *Nottingham* threw up, as it was expected he would, tho' it seems not by the Queen, who press'd him to continue in her Service.

This Incident is told in the following cool Manner by your Grace.

' my dear Mrs. *Freeman* faithfully, I will read the *Book*
 ' she sent me, and beg she would never let Difference of
 ' Opinion hinder us from living together, as we used to
 ' do. Nothing shall ever alter your poor, unfortunate,
 ' faithful *Morley*, who will live and die with all Truth
 ' and Tenderness, your's.

' This new Blow to the Church (the Loss
 ' of the Occasional Conformity-Bill) was soon
 ' followed by another, the Removal of Lord
 ' Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour from their
 ' Employments ; and about the same Time
 ' Lord Nottingham resigned his Place of Se-
 ' cretary of State, because the Whigs were
 ' too much favoured.'

Here again the Effect is visible, but the Cause is conceal'd : Tories are disgrac'd, and Whigs are favour'd. For what Reasons, and at whose Instance, is left in utter Darkness, and the Reader is here to grope out his Way as well as he can. — By recollecting indeed what your Grace advanced in the Beginning of your Book, concerning the low Condition of the Whigs, and the *Elevation* they were advanc'd to by your Means, we are directed to ascribe the Change just mentioned to your Predominance. — But a Name which your Grace has not as yet thought proper to mention, tho' soon to be set forth as the *second Devil* of your Drama, now comes forward, and demands at last to have

have that Justice done it, which Party-Rage, Hood-wink'd Prejudice, and designing Ambition have hitherto denied it.

Robert Harley, Esq; a Gentleman who had eminently distinguished himself in detecting the Parliamentary-Corruptions which broke out in the late Reign, as likewise in the famous Debate on the Disbanding of the Army after the Treaty of *Ryswick*; and to whose Firmness it was principally owing that the Continuance of the *Dutch Guards* in this Realm, tho' particularly desired by the King, could not be dispensed with; who, in just Acknowledgment of his distinguished Merit, was chosen Speaker in the two last Parliaments of King *William*, and now again for the third Time, by the first of Queen *Anne*; this *Robert Harley*, I say, Madam, was become so considerable by his Weight in the House of Commons, had discovered such a Capacity for Busines, and was held in such universal Esteem, that the two great Associates at the Helm, could not help admitting him into their Confidence, as being thought

by them, according to your own Words, p. 208. A very proper Person to manage the House of Commons, upon which so much always depends.

Your Grace does not indeed mean to give this Evidence in his Favour, as is manifest by the Turn of the subsequent Paragraph. 'And his Artifices had won upon them so far, that they could not be persuaded, but they might securely TRUST him, till Experience, too late, convinced them to the contrary.' THEY COULD NOT BE PERSUADED! Somebody endeavoured it then; and who could pretend to have more Penetration and Sagacity than those two renown'd Politicians, but your Grace? An Insinuation very artfully made, and, no Doubt, redounding highly to your Honour!

As to the TRUST you mention, Madam, I suppose, it is to be understood, that the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin took it for granted that Mr. Harley would be their TOOL.

But, in order to understand Party-Language,

guage, we ought to examine Party-Designs to the Bottom.

The Queen had as much good Sense as most Women, and more than most Monarchs: But her Situation was such as rendered it of little Use. By her Affections she was bewitched to your Grace; by her Principles she was attach'd to the Church: On the one Hand she was besieged by those Tories, who, on the Strength of her Prejudices, would have enslav'd the rest of their Fellow-Subjects: On the other, she was made the Prey of those, who, by the most plausible Pretences, so far confounded her Understanding, as to render War almost as much her Delight, as it was their own. According to these, all who seem'd to prefer the Safety and Repose of their bleeding Country, to the Bubble of Military Glory, were Traitors and Jacobites: According to those, Majesty itself was made a Property of, and *one Family* insolently sacrificed the Lives and Fortunes of a whole People, to gratify their own private Interest; by them artfully call'd the *true Interest*

terest of the Public. Thus miserably beset, with the best Disposition as a Woman, with the noblest Intentions as a Queen, this great, beloved, applauded, but unhappy Lady, found herself impotent in the Midst of Power, and continually obnoxious to Complaints and Persecutions ; tho' never blameable, but for being govern'd herself, when alike authoriz'd and qualify'd to govern others.

"Tis obvious to common Sense, that, in a Court so circumstanced, it was morally impossible for Independency to find either Encouragement, or Admission. Faction had the Possession of every Avenue ; Sentinels were station'd at every Postern ; there was no passing without the Word, which was given to none, but such as were either enlisted, or impressed into the Service.

All this no Body knew better, few so well as Mr. Harley, who was equally a Patriot and a Politician ; and saw clearly, if he did not exert the one, it would be extremely difficult to manifest the other. In your Grace's Right, he saw the D. of Marlborough Lord of the Ascendant, and the Treasurer,

Body

Body and Soul, at his Devotion. The Wild-fire-Schemes which the Rage of the disappointed Tories had thrown them into, affronted both his Conscience and his Understanding ; to see the Queen, in a Manner, a Prisoner upon the Throne, excited at once his Pity and his Indignation ; to see the Nation led with Wreaths and Garlands to the Altar, struck him with Horror, and inspir'd him with Resolution to run all Hazards to rescue the devoted Victim.

To say then that he temporis'd with those who held the Throne as in Custody, till he had free Access to it, till he could give Utterance to what his Bosom laboured with, till her Majesty was convinc'd from his own Lips of his Zeal for her real Service, independent (as far as was possible) of all Parties, or Party-Leaders whatever, is the utmost which the Enemies of Mr. *Harley*, with Probability, can hitherto lay to his Charge.

As a Proof of which, let us take a View of his Behaviour when he had first the Ear, and began to possess the Confidence of the Queen : He found her in the melancholy Circumstances

stances before described ; in her Cabinet distract'd with the different Councils, and opposite Demands of two contending Factions, whose principal Aim was to engross her wholly to themselves ; and even in her Bed-chamber not Mistress of her private Favours.

To begin then with the most practicable Part of his Scheme, he proposed first as a reasonable, nay a necessary Measure for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, the disembarrassing her Majesty, and the giving Strength, Firmness and Importance to her Government, both abroad and at home, what your Grace had only wrangled for, and what your two Lords secretly wish'd, but durst not openly undertake ; which was, the Dismission of Sir *Edward Seymour*, and the most turbulent of the Tories, and that very Coalition with the Whigs, which your Grace has arrogated solely to yourself.

That you, Madam, had *more* Reasons than Mr. *Harley* to obtain this desirable Point, has already been explain'd ; and that you very earnestly endeavour'd to effect it, cannot be denied : But then, your Grace would have carry'd

carry'd it like all the rest, with a high Hand, as a Debt to her Majesty's FRIENDS, tho' a Violence to her own Inclinations.

But Mr. Harley, on the contrary, pleaded the Necessity of such a Measure from the Divisions in her Councils, from the factious Spirit that, from thence, went forth among the People, and the dreadful Misunderstandings it had stirr'd up even between the two Houses themselves; from the melancholy Apprehensions it created in our Allies, the Hopes it excited in our Enemies, and the universal Dislocation, as one may term it, of every Joint of Government, it produc'd.

Thus, while your Grace only made the Queen uneasy with your Remonstrances, he made it his Busines to convince her Judgment; the Consequence of which was, that the Prime-Ministry, as it was called, rested in Lord Godolphin; the Duke of Marlborough had the Army at his own Disposal; Mr. Harley was made Secretary of State, on the Resignation of Lord Nottingham, Sir Charles Hedges the other Secretary was continued

tinued ; and Sir George Rock, notwithstanding the Calumnies he had been loaded with, or his being thought an Associate with the late *Furioso's*, was, for some Time after at least, entrusted with the Conduct of the Fleet.

But tho' these Alterations in the Distribution of Power had been made at his Instance, he * waited only for an Opportunity, to give it as his farther Opinion, that the Queen ought not to be closeted up from the Knowledge, or Approach of any of her Subjects, who had a Pretence, from their Birth and Situation, to that Honour, on any Party Consideration whatever ; that Mistakes in Judgment ought not to be imputed as Crimes ; that even willful Trespasses, if not of the most malignant Kind, ought to be over-looked ; that no Faction ought to be made desperate ; but that a Door should be left open for all who signified a Sense of past Miscarriages, and a Dis-

* And that they were made at his Instance, will scarce admit of Controversy, when it is reflected that Henry St. John, Esq; was made Secretary at War, and Thomas Mancell Esq; Comptroller of the Household, in compliment to him, at the same Time, when the said Alterations took place.

position to contribute for the future, as far as their Power and Capacity would give them leave, to the joint Service of their Queen and Country.

If your Grace should be curious to know on what Authority I have asserted these things ; I answer, that of Mr. *Harley* himself ; drawn from the Introduction to those Materials which he had prepared for his Defence, when the mistaken Prejudices of some Men, and the Craft and Guilt of others led them to aim at his Life ; tho', in the End, serving only to draw down Reproach and Ignominy on themselves.

But I digress.

The House of Commons having done their Part, in making good the Supplies ; it must likewise be acknowledged, to the Honour of Lord *Godolphin*, that the Oeconomy of the Treasury and Exchequer were put by him on the best Footing imaginable ; and that he had so dexterously brought the money'd Men, who were principally Whigs, into his Interest, that scarce any Project could be proposed for the Service of the Govern-

ment, but Cash was immediately found to answer it: But how wretched an Equivalent the Multiplication of Exchequer-Bills and Bank-Notes must be deemed for the diminishing our Specie, at this Time exported in vast Quantities to *Spain, Portugal, Flanders, &c.* appears but too evidently already; and will become yet more evident as the Springs continue to fail on one hand, and the Reservoirs to be exhausted on the other.

The Duke of *Marlborough* had now sufficient Opportunity to shew the *Greatness of the General*, as your Grace phrases it; and as no Man was better qualify'd, so no Man display'd his Talents to more Advantage. The Emperor was almost at the Mercy of his Enemies, and scarce any thing less than the mighty Efforts of that amazing Campaign, as Things were then circumstanced, could have prevented his Ruin. The March from the *Rhine* to the *Danube*, the Battle of *Schellenberg*, the Desolation brought upon *Bavaria*, by the Obstinacy of the Elector, and the glorious and decisive Action at *Hocksted*, are all little less than

Miracles, and deserve to be considered and applauded accordingly.

Why then were the Measures to obtain all this Glory opposed and censured, do you ask; Madam ? Because it cost us more than it was worth ; because it was both foreseen and foretold that it would entail a Debt upon us would be our Ruin ; because the Loss of that very Battle, 'tis more than probable, would have given the finishing Blow to the Liberties of *Europe*.

'Tis one of the Curses inseparable from factious Times, to oblige an Author to blend Controversy with History : Let this be my Excuse for interweaving a Thread of each !

As well as by the Battle of *Hocksted*, this Year was distinguished by the taking of *Gibraltar* ; which was stormed by the English Seamen under the Command of Sir *George Rook*. . . . Of which memorable Action it may not be amiss to insert first Bishop *Burnet's* Account, and then the Truth.

'Rook, as he sail'd back, (from the Mediterranean) fell in upon *Gibraltar*, where

he spent much Powder, bombarding it to
 very little Purpose, that he might seem to
 attempt somewhat ; tho' there was no Rea-
 son to hope he could succeed : Some bold
 Men ventured to go ashore, in a Place
 where it was not thought possible to
 climb up the Rocks : Yet they succeeded
 in it. When they got up, they saw all the
 Women of the Town were come out, ac-
 cording to their Superstition, to a Chapel
 there, to implore the Virgin's Protection ;
 they feiz'd on them, and that contributed
 not a little to dispose those in the Town
 to surrender ; they had leave to stay or
 go as they pleased, &c.

Sir John Vanbrugh, in one of his Plays, is,
 pleased to say Gad-a-mercy Parson ! Let
 me be allowed to say Gad-a-mercy Bi-
 shop ! For surely such an old Woman's
 Tale (I beg your Grace's Pardon) never be-
 fore affronted the World under the import-
 ant Name of History.— Even in Gazette-
 Language, that gallant and successful En-
 terprise cannot make so contemptible a Fi-
 gure.

July 21st, the Fleet got into the Bay ; and at three in the Afternoon the English and Dutch Marines, to the Number of 1800, under the Command of the Prince of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, were set on Shore to possess the Neck of Land, and cut off all Communication between the Garrison and the adjacent Country.

The 22d, the Disposition was made by the Admiral for cannonading the Town; but the Wind blowing contrary, the Men of War could not take Possession of their appointed Stations till the Evening came on.

But, soon after Day-break, the next Morning, the Signal was given ; and so vigorous a Fire ensued, that, in less than six Hours, 1500 Shot had been discharged ; to so good a Purpose, that the Enemy were beat from their Guns ; and the Admiral, snatching the Opportunity, ordered the Boats to be mann'd and arm'd, and an immediate Attack to be made on the Platform on the South-Mole-Head ; on the taking of which the whole Success of the

Enterprize depended. As this Command was given with Judgment, it was executed with a Resolution that will reflect an everlasting Honour on the *English* Seamen. For, notwithstanding the incredible Difficulty of the Attempt, both from the natural and artificial Strength of the Place, they surmounted all Obstacles. An Action that scarce ever was equalled, and never can be surpassed ! the Works being defended by an hundred Pieces of Cannon towards the Sea ; and fifty Men being judged sufficient to maintain that Post against several thousand regular Troops.

But those who first made themselves Masters of the Platform, paid dear for their distinguished Bravery ; the *Spaniards* soon after springing a Mine, by which two Lieutenants and forty Seamen were kill'd and sixty wounded.

This did not, however, deter the rest from rushing into the like Danger ; for in the midst of the smoaking Ruins, they manifested the same Ardour, and not only made good the Advantage they had obtain-

ed,

ed, but pressing onward still, carried another important Redoubt, half Way between the Mole and the Town, with the like astonishing Intrepidity; made themselves Masters of many of the Enemy's Cannon, and had the Place at their Mercy.

Upon this the Governor was summoned to surrender; Articles of Capitulation were sign'd the next Day; in the Evening, the Prince of *Hesse* took Possession of it; and we have made a Shift to hold it ever since, in spite of the stigmatiz'd Treaty of *Utrecht*, Promises to give it up, Sieges to compel the Performance of those Promises, and the Opinion of the sage Dr. *Burnet*, who seems to hint it is not worth keeping.

As I am a profess'd Respondent to your Grace only, it may be thought a Deviation, to undertake the Prelate, I have just mentioned, at the same Time: But I hope to be excused, when 'tis recollect'd that your Performances are so much of a Piece, that 'tis scarce possible to ramble after one, without stumbling on the other.

‘ Rook, (says that egregious Prelate) after he had supply’d GIBRALTAR, sail’d again into the Mediterranean; and there he met the Count of Tholouse with the whole French Fleet: They were superior to the English in Number, and had many Gallies with them that were of great Use. Rook called a Council of War, in which it was resolved to engage them; there was not due Care taken to furnish all the Ships with a sufficient Quantity of Powder, for some had wasted a great Part of their Stock of Ammunition before Gibraltar, YET they had generally TWENTY-FIVE Rounds; and it had seldom happened that so much Powder was spent in an Action at Sea. On the 12th of August, just ten Days after the Battle of Hocksted, the two Fleets engaged: SHOVEL advanced with his Squadron to a close Fight; for it was the Maxim of our Seamen to fight as near as they could; HE had the Advantage, and the Squadron before him gave way. Rook fought at a greater Distance; many Broadsides passed, and the Engagement

‘ continued till Night parted them : some
 ‘ Ships that had spent all their Ammuniti-
 ‘ on were forced, on that Account, to go
 ‘ out of the Fire ; and if the *French* had
 ‘ come to a new Engagement *next Day*, it
 ‘ might have been fatal ; since many of our
 ‘ Ships were without Powder, while others
 ‘ had enough and to spare.

He adds however, ‘ The *French* suffer’d
 ‘ much in this Action, and went into *Thoulon*
 ‘ so disabled, that they could not be put into
 ‘ a Condition to go to Sea in many Months.
 ‘ *They left the Sea as the Field of Battle to*
 ‘ *us* ; so that the HONOUR of the Action re-
 ‘ mained with us ; tho’ the Nation was not
 ‘ much lifted up with the News of a *drawn*
 ‘ *Battle* (*your Grace’s Expression likewise*) at
 ‘ *Sea with the French*.

To say nothing of the Tameness of the
 Bishop’s Pencil in a Battle-piece, or his ma-
 nifest Inconsistencies ; the ill Treatment he
 has every where bestow’d on Sir *George*
Rook deserves Correction, which, in this Place,
 he shall receive from the blunt, artless, ho-

next Letter of Sir Cloudsley Shovel, as follows.

' This brings the News of my Health,
 and that we are on our Way homeward :
 That which sends us home so soon, is a
 very sharp Engagement we have had with
 the *French*; our Number of Ships that
 fought in the Line of Battle were pretty
 equal; I think they were FORTY-NINE,
 and we FIFTY-THREE; but Sir George
Rook reserved some of the FIFTY Gun
 Ships, to observe if they attempted any
 thing with their Galleys, of which they had
 TWENY-FOUR. Their Ships did far ex-
 ceed in Bigness. I judge they had SE-
 VENTEEN Three-Deck-Ships, and we had
 but SEVEN. The Battle began on *Sunday*
 the 13th Instant, soon after Ten in the
 Morning, and in the Centre and Rear of
 the Fleet it continued till Night parted;
 but in the Van of the Fleet, where I com-
 manded, and led by Sir *George Leake*, we
 having the Weather-gage, gave me an Op-
 portunity of coming as near as I pleased,
 which

which was within Pistol-shot, before I
 fired a Gun, through which Means, and
 God's Assistance, the Enemy declined us,
 and were upon the Run in less than Four
 Hours, by which time we had little Wind,
 and their Galleys row'd off their lame
 Ships and others as they pleased; for the
 Admiral of the White and Blue with
 whom we fought, had SEVEN Galleys
 tending upon him. As soon as the En-
 emy got out of the Reach of our Guns, and
 the Battle continuing pretty hot astern,
 and some of our Ships in the Admiral's
 Squadron towing out of the Line, which I
 understood afterwards was for want of
 Shot, I order'd all the Ships of my Di-
 vision to slack all their Sails to close
 the Line in the Center; this Working
 had that good Effect, that several of the
 Enemies Ships astern, which had kept
 their Line, having their Top-sails and
 Fore-sails set, shot up abreast of us, as
 the Rear-Admiral of the White and
 Blue, and some of his Division; and the
 Vice-Admiral of the White, and some of
 his

his Division ; but they were so warmly received, before they got a Broadside, that with their Boats ahead, and their Sprit-sails set, they tow'd from us, without giving us the Opportunity of firing at them.

The Ships that suffer'd most in my Division were the *Lenox*, *Warspight*, *Tisbury* and *Swiftsure*, the rest escaped pretty well, and I the best of all, though I never took greater Pains in all my Life to be soundly beaten ; for I set all my Sails, and row'd with three Boats ahead to get a long-side with the Admiral of the White and Blue ; but he outsailing me, shunn'd Fighting, and lay a long-side of the little Ships : Notwithstanding, the Engagement was very sharp, and I think the like between two Fleets never has been, in any Time. There is hardly a Ship that must not shift one Mast, and some must shift all ; a great many have suffered much, but NONE MORE than Sir George Rook, and Capt. Jennings in the *St. George*. God send us well home, I believe we have not three spare Top-masts, nor three Fishes in the Fleet,

Fleet, and I judge there is ten Jury-masts now up. After the Fight we lay two Days in sight of the Enemy, preparing for a second Engagement, but the Enemy de-clin'd and stood from us in the Night.

I do not insert these Portions of History by way of News to your Grace ; or to correct the Bishop only : But to point out very clearly the Absurdity of the reigning Politics of those Times ; which led us to exhaust our principal Strength on the *Terra firma*, while we suffered the Confederate Fleet to be overmatched by the Enemy ; and to engage under the dreadful Dis-advantage of fighting with but *seven* Three-Deck-Ships, against *seventeen* ; and a Superiority of no less than *six hundred* great Guns, assisted by *twenty-four* Gallies ; and in a Sea so far remote from our own Ports and Harbours :

As likewise, Madam, to mortify that tow'ring Spirit which has induc'd you to speak with Contempt of the Actions of Sir *George Rook*, because distinguish'd in the same Address which set forth those of the

Duke

Duke of Marlborough; since of the first, *Gibraltar* still is, and I hope ever will be a Memorial; and of the last, no visible Trace remains, I mean to *Britain*, but *Blenheim-House*, the Grants of Conveyance, &c. and Post-Office-Pension annexed to it.

We come now to the third and last Session of the Tory Parliament, which, tho' so obnoxious to your Grace for putting a Negative on the Queen's intended Bounty to your Lord, when his Merit and Reputation were but in their Dawn, not only complimented him with barren Thanks, but now pass'd a Vote in his Favour, which gave Rise to those mighty Rewards above specified. But all was poisoned by their obstinate Adherence to the Occasional-Conformity-Bill, and their ill-judg'd Project of tacking it to a Money-Bill, to disable the Lords from rejecting it, or to embroil them with the Crown, in case they did. 'Tis true, many of the leading Tories were induced to desert their Friends on this Occasion, which exposed the whole Party; and tho' the Bill was carried without the *Tack*

by

by the Commons, it was again rejected by the Lords on a Division of 71 against 50. So submissive is Conscience itself to the Pleasure of a Court, or rather a Ministry!

We have now, Madam, a Transition to the *Danger of the Church*, of which you give us a History in *your Way*: Two Letters of the Queen's on the same Subject are likewise introduced; which we cannot avoid inserting, in justice to her unaffected Sincerity, and conscientious Regard to Principles, so seldom to be met with on a Throne!

November 17th 1704.

— I am sure no Body shall endeavour more to promote it [Union] than your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, who doth not at all doubt of your Truth and Sincerity to her, and hopes her not agreeing in EVERY THING you say, will not be imputed to want of Value, Esteem, or tender Kindness for my dear, dear Mrs. Freeman, it being impossible for any one to be more sincerely another's, than I am yours.

St.

Ss. James's, November the 21st.

I had just sealed up my Letter on Saturday Night as I received the Satisfaction of my dear Mrs. Freeman's of that Day's Date, but would not open it again, concluding I should have Time either Sunday or Yesterday, to thank you for it. When Sunday came I had several Hindrances, and Yesterday I sat down to write, but was hinder'd by one of the Scots People coming to speak with me, or else I should not have been so long without telling you, I am very sorry, you should forbear writing upon the Apprehension of your Letters being trouble som, since you know very well they are not, nor ever can be so, but the contrary, to your poor unfortunate, faithful Morley. Upon what my dear Mrs. Freeman says again concerning the Address, I have looked it over again, and cannot for my Life see, one can put any other Construction upon the Word Pres-^{sures}, than what I have done already. As to my saying the Church was in some Danger in the late Reign, I cannot alter my Opinion;

‘ Opinion ; for though there was no violent
 ‘ Thing done, every Body that will speak
 ‘ impartially must own, that every Thing
 ‘ was leaning towards the Whigs, *and when-*
 ‘ *ever that is, I shall think the Church be-*
 ‘ *ginning to be in Danger.*

However ludicrously the Clamours about the *Church* appear'd to your Grace, it seems they affected the Queen in a very different Way ; tho' a Bugbear, she could not help being terrified with it ; and those who made use of it, no doubt, took Advantage of her Weakness : But tho' this Terror was a Weakness, she understood it to be a Virtue, and had been ever confirm'd in that Opinion by all about her, except your Grace ; to whom the Extravagance of Piety could never be imputed : If, therefore, even the *mad Conduct of the packing Tories* could not wholly wean her from this Bosom-Prejudice, ought she to be exposed. Ought she to be blam'd ? Poor Lady ! Was not she beset with Terrors on every Side ? And if the Church was rendered a Bugbear on one hand, was not the Success of the War rendered as much a Bugbear on the other ?

Q

Bug

But to proceed with a cursory View of our Foreign Affairs.

At Sea, the taking and destroying five capital *French* Ships, part of *Ponti's* Squadron (the rest having been dispers'd by a Storm) in the Bay of *Gibraltar*, by Admiral * *Leake*, was our principal Exploit; but a Fleet station'd before *Brest*, deterr'd the Enemy from venturing out; and the *Toulon* Squadron was not yet recover'd from the Damage they had sustained from Sir *George Rook*; which sufficiently shewed both the Necessity and Importance of our preserving the Sovereignty of the Seas.

In *Flanders*, tho' the Duke of *Marlborough* never set out with greater Hopes, nothing very material was done, except forcing the *French* Lines at *Tirlemont*, which was imputed to the Over-Caution of the States Deputies, who refused to hazard a Battle, when urg'd to it by his Grace.

We had likewise our Hands full in *Spain*, in virtue of the Treaty with the K. of *Portugal* ~~and to distress our own~~ ^{be-}
cause *Rook* had been set aside; perhaps for the high Crime of being mentioned in the same Address with his Grace of *Marlborough*.

before spoken of; who, even as our very Bishop^{*} acknowledges, made great Demands on us. England being now considered as a Source that could never be exhausted. We granted all their Demands, and a Body of Horse was sent to them at a vast Charge.

This Year, moreover, the Earl of Peterborough, your Grace must well remember, obtained the Command of 5000 Men in that Service; of whose almost miraculous Exploits, and the Reward they met with, we shall have Occasion to give a hasty Sketch in the Sequel, as being fatally connected with those Party-Feuds which have so long encumber'd our Soil, and choak'd the Growth of every eminent Virtue.

But I beg your Grace's Pardon; I am wandering after our public Affairs, and your Book professes to treat only of *yourself*: which I had almost forgot, till the following Paragraph very seasonably recalled my Attention.

' And the next Year I prevail'd with
' her Majesty to take the Great Seal from
' Sir Nathan Wright, a Man despised by all
' Parties, of no use to the Crown, and whose

weak and wretched Conduct in the Court
 of Chancery, had almost brought his very,
 Office into Contempt. His Removal
 however was a great Loss to the Church,
 for which he had ever been a warm Stick-
 ler. And this Loss was the more sensibly
 felt, as his Successor, my Lord Cowper,
 was not only of the Whig-Party, but of
 such Abilities and Integrity, as brought a
 new Credit to it in the Nation.'

We have already, Madam, seen the Army and the Treasurer's Staff disposed of according to your good Will and Pleasure; we have seen a Peer introduced by you into the House of Lords. We have seen Ladies of the Bed-chamber made and rejected as you frown'd or smil'd. We have seen Party-Leaders of all Ranks displac'd successively to make you easy. And now, to complete your Glory, we have seen the Custody of the Great Seal of *England* at your Devotion likewise. To compare, then, *your* Successes with your *Lord's*, how hard would it be to determine whose were the most illustrious? To compare your different Trophies, how hard will it be to determine which are likely to be

be most durable? And to compare the respective Spoils that each of you has brought home, how hard would it be to determine which were the most valuable? What smart Ensign of Quality does not warm his Imagination with the Remembrance of your Lord's Glory? What young, fluttering Maid of Honour, does not think with Rapture of your Grace's Almightiness? Who, reflecting on both, can help making free with the Pindaric Flight of Dryden to give Vent to his Admiration?

Happy! happy! happy Pair!

None but the Brave deserve the Fair!

To return: Your Grace finishes your ironical Account of the Danger of the Church with the following Paragraph.

‘ But, what was worse than all these Misfortunes, the Majority of the House of Commons in the new Parliament of 1705, proved to be Whig.’

I could have wished, for the Sake of Uniformity, your Grace had thought proper to make use of your favourite Word *happen'd* instead of *prov'd*: For so effectually have you there concealed, or endeavoured to con-

ceal the Craft of the Politician, that we are taught to believe, those at the Helm left the People entirely to themselves, and the Majority PROV'D to be *Whig*, without the least Advance on their Sides, to accomplish what concern'd them above all Things.

But there is no Excuse for Pleasantry on such an affecting Occasion.

We have here the most alarming Proof imaginable of the Influence of Ministers over our Elections : when they would have Tories return'd, we return Tories ; when they would have Whigs return'd, we return Whigs : so that in fact, the Court is rather represented than the People. What Wonder then, that Supplies are always granted, and that Grievances are never redressed ?

Let us however examine, how this Majority proved themselves to be *Whig* ?

Why, they carried the Court-Candidate for the Chair, by upwards of sixty ; they most faithfully echo'd back the Words of the Speech in their Address ; they vied with the Tories in precipitating the Supplies ; they address'd her Majesty to preserve a good Correspondence with her Allies ; they voted

the Church not to be in Danger ; they committed Mr. *Cæsar*, one of their Members, to the Tower, for only dropping in one of his Speeches ; *That there was a noble Lord*, (meaning *Godolphin*) *without whose Advice the Queen did nothing*, who, in the late Reign, was known to keep a constant Correspondence with the Court of St. Germains. They thank'd the Duke of Marlborough for his Services ; they agreed with the Lords in repealing that Clause in the Act of Settlement, which disabled Place-men from sitting in the House of Commons ; they voted the public Revenues to have been duly apply'd ; and, notwithstanding their boasted Attachment to the House of Hanover, they voted Sir Rowland Gwynne's Letter to the Earl of Stamford, relating to the Motion for the Princess Sophia's being invited to reside in England, to be a malicious Libel, &c.

In the Progress of this Undertaking of mine, Madam, I have made no Scruple to consider both Whigs and Tories as Factions alike : For tho' each pleaded a Concern for the Public, neither appears to have had any Thing at Heart, for the general, but their

own private Interest. Thus which ever were out of Power, grew at the same Time out of Humour too, and, to gratify their Spleen and Resentment, were not ashamed to deny and oppose the very Measures they had formerly espoused ; or to espouse what they had formerly opposed and denied.

True public Spirit can have no private End. How little then will fall to the Share of either Whig or Tory, if we may judge of their Principles by their Actions ?

In January 1702, the Tories in the House of Commons had like to have put a Negative on a Clause from the Lords, to render it High-Treason to make any Attempt on the Hanover-Succession ; the Affirmative having been carry'd but by one Vote ; and yet now, having been supplanted by the Whigs, they discovered a flaming Zeal to invite over the Princess *Sophia* to take up her Residence among us, with such Appointments, Honours and Distinctions, as were thought suitable to the presumptive Heiress to the Crown.

To

To be candid ; your Grace, in my humble Opinion, has stated this Matter so fairly, that I shall quote your Authority, instead of endeavouring to put in an Answer.

No Wonder if, in these sad Circumstances, a loud and piteous Cry was raised upon the extreme Danger of the poor Church. A doleful Piece, penn'd by some of the Zealots of the Party, and called *The Memorial of the Church of England*, was printed and spread abroad, setting forth her melancholy Condition and Distress ; and much Lamentation it occasioned. But what Remedy ? There could be no Hope of getting an *Occasional-Conformity-Bill* passed in this Parliament. One Expedient still remained ; and this was, to invite the Princess *Sophia of Hanover*, the present King's Grandmother, to come over and defend the Church. Her Presence here, though she would not probably, as being a *Lutheran*, be very zealous for a Bill against Occasional Conformists, yet might happily prove a Means to hinder the Whigs from bringing in Popery and the Pretender. A Motion

Motion was therefore made in the House of Lords for this Invitation ; and the Necessity of it was urged with great Strength of Argument by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, and the other grave Men of the Party. Not that they had the least Hope or the least Desire to carry their Point, but being well assured that the Queen would never consent to such an Invitation, nor pardon her Ministers if they encouraged the Design, this was a notable Stratagem to ruin them, either with her Majesty, or with the Nation ; for if in Compliance with her Prejudices they opposed this Motion, it was to be hoped it would draw the public Odium upon them, as declared Enemies to the Protestant Succession.

Thus far all is smooth : But how shall we hobble over what follows ?

This hopeful Scheme however did not succeed. The * Whigs opposed the Invitation,

* Tho' the Whigs, in this Case, certainly did what was right, it is shrewdly to be question'd whether they acted upon Principle ; since no one Circumstance could have given such Strength

tation, and yet preserv'd their *Credit*, to the great Mortification of the other Party. I know that my Lord Godolphin, and other great Men, were much reflected upon by some well-disposed Persons, for not laying hold of this Opportunity, which the Tories put into their Hands, of more effectually securing the Succession to the Crown in the House of Hanover. But those of the Whigs, whose Anger against the Minister was raised on this Account, little knew how impracticable the Project of *Invitation* was, and that the Attempt would have only served to make the Queen *discard* her Ministry, to the Ruin of the common Cause of these Kingdoms, and of all Europe. I had often tried her Majesty upon this Subject; and when I found that she would not hear of the immediate Successor's coming over, had pressed her that she would at least invite hither the young Prince of

Strength to them as a Faction, as the Presence of a Prince of the House of Hanover: And that this was their real Sentiment, appear'd plainly enough afterwards, when again *out of Place*. — Then, as to the *Preservation* of their *Credit*, Sir R. Gwynne's Letter, before-mentioned, is written expressly to expose them for deserting the Cause they had espoused.

• Hanover,

* Hanover, who was not to be her immediate Successor, and that she would let him live here as her Son : But her Majesty would listen to no Proposals of this Kind in any Shape whatsoever.

These last are really thundering Articles, Madam. THE RUIN OF THE COMMON CAUSE OF ALL EUROPE, (GOD bless us!) would have been involved in the Disgrace of the *Marlborough-Family* ! According to my narrow Way of thinking, the Trespass of the Tories consisted chiefly in the Insult offered by this Motion to the known Sentiments of the Queen ; and the Uneasiness it must unavoidably give her. But, alas ! their Guilt was of a much deeper Dye. They had even the Barbarity to plot the Ruin of the *Marlborough-Family*, either with the Nation or the Queen, and by Consequence, it seems, the Ruin of all EUROPE.

Well, but after all, it appears, that even your Grace had not only, in private, espoused this Measure of the Tories, but practised to bring the Queen herself into it likewise ; had disputed every Inch of Ground with

with her Majesty, from the Claims of the good old Lady the Grandmother, to the Hopes of the forward, young Prince, our present most gracious Sovereign; nay, *pressed* her to a Compliance; and it is upon the Evidence, arising from the Defeat you had met with, that the Whigs are giv'n to understand how **UTTERLY IMPRACTICABLE** the Project of Invitation was: For, if she was not to be moved by you, both Parties, both Houses, Ministers and People, Friends and Foes, would have join'd their Forces in vain.

The Queen however continued firm, continued inexorable; and it greatly redounds to her Honour that she did so: Had she been either awed or wheaded out of her Resolution, she would, thenceforward, have been render'd but a Royal Cypher in public as well as private, and must have submitted to hear her Commands disputed, instead of seeing them obeyed.

To endeavour to force her Successor upon her, was certainly an Indignity that scarce the most resigned Temper could give Way to:

diw

And

And every Effay towards it, under whatever Mask concealed, apparently deserved her Royal Resentment.

That, therefore, it did not fall with its whole Weight upon your Grace, for thwarting her Inclinations, in order to disentangle the Ministry from the Snare they were struggling in, is one of those Instances of uncommon Moderation and Forbearance, which distinguish this Reign almost from all others.

Upon the Whole, then, if what follows, taken from your own *Account*, concludes strongly against the Tories for making such a factious Use of the *Hanover-Succession*, it certainly concludes almost as strongly against your Grace likewise, for being a Voluntier, tho' from different Motives, in the same ungrateful Service.

To give a full Answer to all Objections against the Minister's Conduct with Regard to this Matter, I shall here relate a Transaction that passed three Years afterwards, which will show not only the Insincerity of the Tories in their Zeal for the House of *Hanover*, when they moved for the Prince

cess

cess Sophia's being invited hither, but how insuperably averse the Queen was to suffer the Presence of any of that Family.

My Lord Haversham, a great Speech-maker, and Publisher of his Speeches, and who was become the Mouth of the Party for any extraordinary Alarm, was sent privately by the Tories to the Queen, to acquaint her with the Discovery they pretended to have made, of a terrible Design formed by the Whigs to bring over one of the House of Hanover, and to force this upon her whether she would or not. Now can any Thing be more curious than such a Message from the Tories, and by such a Messenger? For my Lord Haversham was the Man who had moved for the Princess Sophia's coming over as a Thing necessary for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion. But now any Design of inviting hither one of that Family was of so frightful a Nature, that it must be esteemed meritorious to give early Notice of the Danger. I shall make no further Comment upon this Proceeding, but transcribe a Part

• of the Queen's Letter to the Duke of Marl-
• borough upon this Occasion.

July 22^d 1708.

— I cannot end this without giving
you an Account in short, of a Visit I had
from Lord Haversham. He told me his
Business was to let me know, there was
certainly a Design laying between the
WHIGS and some GREAT MEN, to have
an Address made in the next Sessions of Par-
liament for inviting the Electoral Prince
over to settle here, and that he would
certainly come to make a Visit, as soon as
the Campaign was over, and that there
was nothing for me to do, to prevent my
being forced to do this, (as I certainly
would) but my showing myself to be
Queen, and making it my own Act. I
told him, if this Matter should be brought
into Parliament, whoever proposed it,
whether Whig or Tory, I should look
upon neither of them as my Friends, nor
would ever make any Invitation neither to

' land. I have a Letter from him express-
 ' ing his *Dislike* to the Design. But how
 ' hard pressed both he and my Lord Godol-
 ' phin were by the Whigs to have it brought
 ' to Effect, will fully appear by the fol-
 ' lowing Letter on the same Subject.

Grametz October 1706.

' When I writ my last, I was very full
 ' of the Spleen, and I think with too much
 ' Reason. My whole Time, to the best of
 ' my Understanding, has been employed for
 ' the public Good, as I do assure you I do
 ' in the Presence of God, neglecting no
 ' Opportunity of letting ~~83~~* see what I
 ' take to be her *true Interest*. IT IS
 ' TERRIBLE TO GO THROUGH SO MUCH
 ' UNEASINESS. I do not say this to flat-
 ' ter any Party, for I will never do it; let
 ' the Consequence be what it will. FOR,
 ' AS PARTIES, THEY ARE BOTH IN
 ' THE WRONG. But 'tis certain † 73 and

* The Queen.

† No doubt the Lord Rochester; but her Grace ought to have favoured us with an Explanation of this Signature as well as of the rest.

his Adherents are not to be TRUSTED.
 So that 83 * has no Choice, but that of
 employing those who will *carry on the*
War and support 91†. And if any other
 Method is taken, I know we shall go into
 CONFUSION. Now this being the Case,
 I leave you to judge, whether I am dealt
 kindly with? I do not say this for any
 other End, but to have your Justice and
 Kindness; for in that will consist my fu-
 ture Happiness. I am sure I would ven-
 ture a thousand Lives, if I had them, to
 procure Ease and Happiness to the Queen.
 And yet no Number of Men could per-
 suade me to act as a Minister in what
 was not my Opinion. So that I shall ne-
 ver fail in speaking my Mind very freely.
 And as my Opinion is, that the *Tackers*
 and all the Adherents of 73 are NOT for
 carrying on the *War*, which is for the
 TRUE INTEREST of the Queen and
 Kingdom, you may depend I shall never

The Queen.

† Lord Godolphin.

join

join with any but such as I think will
 serve her and the *true Interest* of our
 Country with all their Hearts. And if
 the War continues but one Year longer,
 with Success, I hope it will not be in any
 body's *Power* to make the Queen's *Busi-*
ness uneasy. And then I shall be glad to
 live as quiet as possible, and not envy the
 governing Men, who would then I believe
 think better of 90 and 91 * than they
 now do. And I will own frankly to you,
 that the JEALOUSY some of YOUR
 FRIENDS have, that 90 and 91 do not
 act sincerely, makes me so weary, that
 were it not for my Gratitude for 83, and
 Concern for 91, I would now retire,
 and never serve more. For I have had
 the good Luck to deserve better from all
 Englishmen, than to be suspected for not
 being in the *true Interest* of my Country;
 which I am in, and ever will be, with-
 out being of a FACTION. And this Prin-

* Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin.

ciple shall govern me for the little Re-
 mainder of my Life. I must not think
 of being popular; but I shall have the Sa-
 tisfaction of my going to the Grave with
 the Opinion of having acted, as became
 an honest Man. And if I have your Es-
 teem and Love, I should think myself
 entirely happy. Having writ thus far
 I have received your two Letters of the
 20th and 21st, which confirm me in my
 Opinion before. And since the Resolu-
 tion is taken to *vex* and *ruin* 91, because
 83 has *not complied* with what was de-
 fired for 117 *, I shall from hencefor-
 ward despise all Mankind, and think there
 is no such thing as Virtue. For I know
 with what Zeal 91 has pressed 83 in
 that Matter. I do pity him, and shall
 always love him as long as I live; and
 never be a Friend to any that can be his
 Enemy.

I have writ my Mind very freely to
 83 †, on this Occasion, so that whatever

* Lord Sunderland.

† The Queen.

Mis-

' Misfortune may happen, I shall have a
 ' quiet Mind, having done what I thought
 ' my Duty. And as for the Resolution of
 ' making me uneasy, I believe they will
 ' not have much Pleasure in that, for as I
 ' have not set my Heart on having Justice
 ' done me, I shall not be disappointed; Nor
 ' will I be ill used by any Man.

I cannot, Madam, pass over this remarkable Letter of so remarkable a Man, without some Reflections upon it, which I hope will carry with them their own Jus-
tification.

His Grace, in the first Place, seems to be thoroughly persuaded that the carrying on the War was the TRUE INTEREST of his Country : If, therefore, he was mistaken, it must be ascribed to a Defect in his Understanding, not to the Influence of Gain or Glory ; tho' it does not appear that he was insensible of either.

But to let us see with what Partiality we regard ourselves, we find this Hero so affected with the Rage of Parties, that he cannot

help expressing himself on the Occasion in this passionate Manner. IT IS TERRIBLE TO GO THROUGH SO MUCH UNEASINESS: And yet entirely thoughtless of what his Royal Mistress, tho' a Woman, suffer'd from the like Persecutions.

I will, however, do him the Justice to acknowledge, that the Sentence he pronounces on the two Parties, *That they are both in the wrong*, ought to be recorded in Letters of Gold, where-ever the Legislature assembles, where-ever the Throne is plac'd; as a Truth self-evident, and of the last Importance, both to Prince and People.

Having done this Justice to the Duke, we must now return to your Grace; whom we shall find battling the Point, Foot to Foot, with the Queen, without any of those Qualms, which gave such terrible Uneasiness to your Lord.

But it is fit your Grace should speak for your self.

I shall here add a Letter of my own to the Queen on the same Subject; and the rather, because it not only confirms what I

have

' have said of her Majesty's *Unwillingness to
oblige the Whigs*, but shews, that as much
as I opposed the Tories, I was no Enemy
to the Church they *talked of*; so far as any
Thing *real and excellent* was meant by that
Word; and because it contains so just a
PREDICTION of the Usage, the Queen af-
terwards met with, when she fell into the
Hands of the High-Church Party.

' By the Letter I had from your Majesty
this Morning, and the great Weight you
put upon the Difference betwixt the Word
Notion and Nation in my Letter, I am on-
ly made sensible (as by many other Things)
that you were in a great Disposition to com-
plain of me, since, to this Moment, I can-
not for my Life see any essential Difference
betwixt these two Words, as to the Sense of
my Letter, the true Meaning of which was
only to let your Majesty know, with that
Faithfulness and Concern, which I have
ever had for your Service, that *it was not*
possible for you to carry on your Government
much longer, with so much *Partiality to*

Some Sort of Men, tho' they lose no Occasion
 of differviring you, and of showing the greatest
 ' Inveteracy (a favourite Expression) against
 ' my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasur-
 ' er; and so much Discouragement to others,
 ' who even, after great Disobligations, have
 ' taken several Opportunities to show their
 ' Firmness to your Majesty's Interest, and their
 ' Zeal to support you, and your Ministers
 ' too, ONLY because they had been faithful
 ' and useful Servants to you and the Public.

' This was all the Sense and Meaning of
 ' my Letter, and if you can find Fault with
 ' this, I am so unhappy as that you must al-
 ' ways find Fault with me, for I am unca-
 ' pable of thinking otherwise as long as I live,
 ' or of acting now but upon the same Prin-
 ' ciple, that I served you before you came to
 ' the Crown for so many Years, when your
 ' unlimited Favour and Kindness to me, could
 ' never tempt me to make Use of it in one
 ' single Instance that was not for your Inter-
 ' est and Service. I am afraid I have been
 ' too long in explaining my Thoughts upon
 ' the Subject of my own Letter, which it

seems

seems has been so great an Offence, and
 how justly I leave you to judge; and I
 must beg your Patience, since I am not very
 like to trouble you again, to let me say
 something upon the Subject of your Letter
 to my Lord Treasurer, which he has shewn
 me to Day, with more Concern than I
 know how to express: This was indeed the
 Subject of my own Letter, and the Occa-
 sion of it, for I do not only see the Unea-
 siness and the Grief he has to leave your
 Service, when you seem so desirous he
 should continue in it, but I see as well as
 he, the Impossibility of his being able to
 support it, or himself, or my Lord Marl-
 borrough, FOR IT ALL HANGS UPON
 ONE THREAD; and when they are FOR-
 CED to LEAVE YOUR SERVICE, you will
 then, indeed, find yourself in the Hands of
 a violent Party, who I am sure will have
 very little Mercy or even Humanity for you.
 Whereas you might prevent all these Mis-
 fortunes, by giving my Lord Treasurer and
 my Lord Marlborough (whom you may so
 safely trust) Leave to propose those Things

to

to you, which they know and can judge to
 be absolutely necessary for your Service,
 which will put it in their Power to influ-
 ence those, who have given you Proofs both
 of their being able to serve you, and of
 their desiring to make you great and happy.
 But rather than your Majesty will employ
 a PARTY-MAN, as you are pleased to call
 Lord Sunderland, you will put all Things
 in CONFUSION, (*an Expression borrowed*
from the Duke) and at the same Time that
 you say this, you employ Sir C. Hedges,
 who is in one against you, only that he has
 voted in remarkable Things that he might
 keep his Place; and he did the same Thing
 in the late King's Time, till at last, that
 every Body saw he was just dying and he
 could lose nothing by differing with that
 Court: But formerly he voted with those
 Men, the Enemies to this Government call
 Whigs, and if he had not been a Party-man,
 how could he have been a Secretary of State,
 when all your Councils were influenced
 by my Lord R. Lord Nott. Sir E. Seymour,
 and about six or seven more just such Men,
 that call themselves *the Heroes for the Church?*

‘ But

' But what Church can any Man be of that
 ' would disturb so just a Government as
 ' your's, or how can any Body be in the
 ' TRUE INTEREST of England, that oppo-
 ' poses you and your Ministers, by whose
 ' Advice, in four Years Time, you are very
 ' near pulling down the Power of France,
 ' and making that Religion they only talk of,
 ' not only more secure than in any of the
 ' late Reigns, but putting it upon a better
 ' Foundation than it has been since the Re-
 ' formation?

' You are pleased to say you think it a
 ' great Hardship, to persuade a Man to
 ' part with a Place he is in Possession of,
 ' for one that is not vacant. In some Cases
 ' that were certainly right, but not in this;
 ' for Sir Charles Hedges can have the PLACE
 ' he desires immediately, and it is much bet-
 ' ter for him, unless he could be Secretary
 ' of State for Life. He will have two Places
 ' that are considerable, one of which he can
 ' compass no other Way, and this is so far
 ' from being a Hardship, that he and all the
 ' World must think it a great Kindness done

him,

' him, and he must be a very weak Man, if
 ' he lost the Opportunity of having such a
 ' Certainty, when he can't flatter himself
 ' that (*whatever happens*) he can be *support-*
 ' *ed* long in a Place of that Consequence for
 ' which he is so unfit. He has no Capacity,
 ' no Quality, no Interest, nor ever could have
 ' been in that Post, but that every Body
 ' knows, my Lord *Rochester* cares for no-
 ' thing so much as a Man that he thinks
 ' will depend upon him. I beg your Ma-
 ' jesty's Pardon for not waiting upon you,
 ' and I persuade myself, that long as my Let-
 ' ter is, it will be less troublesom to your
 ' Majesty.

' It was a Wonder to many, that this Af-
 ' fair of my Lord *Sunderland's* Promotion
 ' met with such Difficulties, considering his
 ' Relation to my Lord *Marlborough*, whose
 ' Merit with his Queen and Country was
 ' every Year augmenting. For, whilst this
 ' Matter was in Suspence, he obtained the
 ' Victory of *Ramillies*: On which Occasion
 ' her Majesty in a Letter dated from *Kensing-*
 ' *ton*, May 17, 1706, told him —— She
 ' wanted

wanted Words to express the true Sense she
 had of the great Service he had done his
Country and *her*, in that great and glori-
 ous Victory, and hoped that it would be a
 Means to confirm all good and honest People
 in their Principles, and frighten others from
 being troublsom; ————— and then spoke,
 of the Allay it was to all her Satisfaction,
 to consider what Hazards he was exposed
 to, ————— and repeated an obliging Request
she had often made, that he would be care-
 ful of himself. I cannot doubt of the
 Queen's kind Dispositions to my Lord
Marlborough at this Time, or her Willing-
 ness, in general, to oblige him. And it
 quickly appeared that the Difficulties raised
 by her Majesty against parting with Sir
Charles Hedges, were wholly owing to the
Artifice and Management of Mr. *Harley*,
 the other Secretary of State, whose Interest
 and secret Transactions with the Queen,
 were then doubtless in their Beginning.

As in War there is no kind of Advantage
 that affords so much Satisfaction, as to turn

the

the Enemies Artillery on themselves : So in Controversy, Truth is never more acceptable than when forced out of the very Passages which are meant to conceal it : And if all the Features of a domineering Faction, and a Minion-ridden Sovereign are to be found to the Life in the foregoing Epistle of your Grace's, what abundant Matter have you furnished with your own Hand to set forth the Triumph of your Adversaries ?

And that they are, what Pretence is there to question, when we see your Grace entering into the Lists with your Royal Mistress, and throwing down your Gage as the avowed Championess of her Ministers ; presuming to declare that her very Government was in Danger, if not deposited solely in their Keeping ; reproaching her Majesty with Partiality to some, and, in Behalf of others, complaining of Discouragements and Disobligations ; declaring an obstinate Adherence to your former Sentiments, whether pleasing or not ; and, with a menacing Air, signifying it was like to be the last Trouble you would give her ; denouncing it as a

Judgment, that, as soon as she was left by these mighty Colleagues, she would find her self in the Hands, and at the Mercy of her Enemies ; and that leave her they would, if not authorized to reign in her Stead, and do all Things according to their own good Will and Pleasure ; charging her with Inconsistencies ; decrying every Person she inclined to favour ; and, in short, turning your Back upon her with a Sullenness and Haughtiness beyond Example ?

If this is not a lively Picture of an insulted Queen, and a presuming Favourite ; of Majesty itself exposed to that Uneasiness, which the Duke of *Marlborough*, a Subject, found by Experience so TERRIBLE TO GO THROUGH ; of being under the Tyranny of a Faction ; of being terrified out of her own Authority ; and compelled to obey the Dictates of her own Servants ; there is no Meaning in Words ; and Common Sense is of no Use.

But your Grace was her Familiar ; true : And that Familiarity breeds Contempt, was never so notoriously exemplified before. Was it,

it, however, right to suffer this Secret to escape ? to let the whole World know, that, through the excessive Goodness of her Majesty, she was to be moulded into what Shape her Favourite-Ministers pleased ? was it not from hence that other People were led to try Practices upon her Temper likewise, and to put in at least for a Share of the Spoil ? and could not the whole *triple Alliance* club together for as much Address as might have carried their Point, without provoking the Queen to fly for Sanctuary from their Persecutions, to the first Arms that were open to receive her ?

Of Sovereigns displeased with, and reprimanding their Servants, nay sometimes disgracing the Best, we may find many notable Examples in History : But of Servants presuming to fly in the Face of their Sovereigns, calling them to account for their Conduct, and even insisting that they should proceed blindfold, wherever they were led or drove, scarce one : This then was reserved to be the peculiar Distinction of your Grace's Regency ; and 'tis more than possible you

could possess it to the End of the World without a Rival.

To see with her own Eyes, hear with her own Ears, and enjoy the common Use of her Faculties, seems to be all her Majesty contended for: But this did not quadrate with the Interests of the *Marlborough-Family*; and the Privilege of the meanest Subject was not allowed to be any Part of her Prerogative.

All this appears even from the Pittance of Evidence your Grace has thought advisable to bring to account: What then might we not have expected, if we had been favoured with the whole Controversy? It appears the Queen began to grow a little more untractable than usual; you expostulate with her thereon; her Majesty condescends to reply to you again; and this Rejoinder of your's is all you have thought fit to make public.—From the Sample let the World judge of the rest!

But this traversing of Lord *Sunderland's* Promotion is charged upon Mr. *Harley*; and, under the Words *Artifice* and *Management*,

ment, is represented as a Crime : So blind is Prejudice ! or so unjust Resentment !

Mr. *Harley* had openly acquainted Lord *Godolphin*, as well as the Queen, with his Sentiments on the Art of governing by Parties, and the narrow, injurious Expedient of compelling her Majesty to discountenance one Half of her Subjects, in Compliment to the sinister Views of the rest. Mr. *Harley* was therefore obliged, on his own Principles, to lay before her, in the strongest Terms possible, the apparent Injustice, as well as ill Policy, of dismissing a Man, who had never misbehaved, in order to gratify a Faction, who, on the Merit of complying with the Measures of her Ministers for one Session, had been forward enough to stand upon such high Demands, and even to exact a Compliance from her Majesty.

And in this you know, Madam, Mr. *Harley* was even more a Friend to the *Marlborough*-Family, than you care now to acknowledge : For the Whigs had never plac'd a thorough Confidence in L. *Godolphin*; and this very Lord *Sunderland*, tho' Son-in-law to your Grace,

was obtruded on the Queen, not only by Way of Security for the Performance of Articles; but, when Time should serve, to be that very Supplanter, which the Junto, causelessly at first, apprehended in Mr. Harley, as anon will be more fully explained.

I shall give the Issue of this Affair in your Grace's Words, as they serve both to illustrate the Victory you obtained over the Queen and Mr. Harley; and likewise at what Expence to the Nation it was then found necessary to oblige your Grace, and your good Friends the Whigs.

As for Sir Charles Hedges, when he found how backward the Queen was to dismiss him, he was so prudent as to make a greater Advantage to himself by quitting his Post, than he could have done by holding it. And in the Winter of 1706, Lord Sunderland was appointed to succeed him.

When we reflect on the Use your Grace has thought fit to make of the supreme Confidence placed in you by the Queen, we are not to wonder that the Letters of Mr. Harley, and whoever else has disoblig'd you, are

betrayed likewise. — You seem to have been ever above common Forms, Madam, and consequently must be supposed to be out of the Reach of common Censure for the Breach of them. An Epistle of Condolance from Mr. *Harley* to the Duke of *Marlborough* on the Death of Lord *Blandford*, which begins as well as ends with the Word *Servant*, is quoted with as much Ceremony, as if it contained a solemn Tender of all his Powers and Faculties, to be wholly and solely at his Grace's Devotion, for ever and for aye. — As if our Judgments of Men did not vary as Men's Actions vary'd; or as if ill Offices had not a Right to cancel even Vows of Friendship, tho' made at the Altar.

But, not to lose Sight of our public Affairs, we must here take Notice, that this Year, likewise, the Union of the two Kingdoms took Place; an Event of so complex a Nature, that I have not Time either to reflect on the *Scots Act of Security*, to which principally it owed its Rise, or on the Means taken to accomplish it, or the Characters or Views of those employ'd in it, or the Articles it consisted of. It is sufficient

ficient to observe, that it was confirm'd by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; by that of *Scotland*, not without the most vehement Opposition; by that of *England* with less than was expected: The Divisions in the House of Lords being 50 to 20 in Favour of it; and the Commons agreeing to every Clause with such an indecent Rapidity, that the Bill was said to ride *Post* thro' the House.

But this was not the only Instance of their Complaisance to the Court: They had scarce sat a Month, before, taking into Consideration the many eminent Services of *John Duke of Marlborough*, they presented an Address humbly to desire, 'That, as her Ma-
 ' jesty was, at her *Expence*, graciously plea-
 ' sed to erect the House of *Blenheim*, and
 ' the House of Peers, by her Majesty's
 ' Permission, had given Rise to a * Law for
 ' continuing his Honours to his Posterity,
 ' so they might be permitted to express their
 ' Sense of so distinguishing a Merit, and their

* By this Law which passed likewise this Session, the Manor of *Woodstock* and House of *Blenheim* were annexed to those Honours: The said Law was read by the Commons three Times, and pass'd *Nem. Cn.* in one Day.

ready Disposition to enable her Majesty to make some Provision for the more honourable *Support* of his Dignity in his Posterity, &c.' Which the Queen, no doubt, understanding to flow from their own *mere Motion*, readily complied with; and in consequence the 5000*l.* *per Annum*, in Perpetuity, demanded in the very first Year of her Majesty's Reign, and then civilly refused by the Tories, was now carried by the *Whigs* without any Difficulty; which is sufficient to prove that the Charge of Ingratitude brought against the last by your Grace, was without Foundation.

They likewise swallowed the Estimates whole, as one may say, and dispatched the Supplies, tho' larger than any ever granted before, in less than a Week. Nay, the Ministry having run the Nation to the Expence of 800,000*l.* more than was provided for by Parliament, they were notwithstanding justify'd for so doing, by a majority of a hundred Voices. Such Difference there is in the Conduct of a Whig when *in Power*, and when *out!*

With

With such a Strength in both Houses, and such an Ascendancy over the Queen, who can wonder, on one Hand, that this aspiring Junto, should insist on having her Majesty's Will subordinate to theirs? And on the other, who can wonder enough that the very Person, who had contributed most to reduce her to that abject Condition, should, after an Interval of so many Years, not only exhibit her in her Fetters, but with Complaints and Reproaches, that she should testify the least Reluctance to put them on, or Inclination to set herself free?

But, lest this should be thought incredible, let me beg of your Grace to wave your Privilege and kiss the Book.

But notwithstanding this Point (Lord *Sunderland's* Promotion) thus carried by the Whigs, they were soon *alarmed* again by the Queen's Choice of two High-church Divines, to fill two vacant Bishopricks. Several of the Whigs were disposed to think themselves betray'd by the Ministry ; whereas the Truth was, that the Queen's Inclination to the Tories being now sooth'd

‘ by the Flatteries and Insinuations of her
 ‘ private Counsellors, had begun to make
 ‘ it irksome to her to consult with her Mi-
 ‘ nisters upon any Promotions, either in the
 ‘ Church or the State. The first Artifice of
 ‘ those Counsellors was, to instill into the
 ‘ Queen Notions of the high Prerogative of
 ‘ *acting without her Ministers*, and (as they
 ‘ expressed it) of being *Queen indeed*. And
 ‘ the Nomination of Persons to Bishopricks
 ‘ against the Judgment and *Remonstrances*
 ‘ of her Ministry, being what they knew her
 ‘ Genius would fall in with more readily
 ‘ than with any Thing else they could pro-
 ‘ pose, they began with that; and they took
 ‘ Care that those *Remonstrances* should be
 ‘ interpreted by the World, and resented by
 ‘ herself as hard Usage, a Denial of common
 ‘ Civility, and even *the making her no Queen*.

‘ Her Majesty however to quiet the *Dif-*
satisfaction of the Whigs for the late Pro-
 ‘ motions, ordered her Ministers to assure
 ‘ them, that she would prefer no more To-
 ‘ ries, and she gave the same Assurances
 ‘ with her own Mouth in the Cabinet Coun-

cil. And she was suffered by her secret
 Counsellors so far to observe this Promise,
 as to give, about the same Time, the Bi-
 shoprick of *Norwich* to Doctor *Trimmel*;
 a particular Friend of Lord *Sunderland's*.
 And she also, some Time after, gave the
 Professorship of Divinity at *Oxford*, to
 Doctor *Potter*, the present Archbishop of
Canterbury, who had Doctor *Smaldrige*
 for his Competitor, recommended by the
 Tories. But this latter Favour to the
 Whigs was not so easily obtain'd as the for-
 mer. And, upon the Delays that were
 made in bestowing it, my Lord *Marlbo-*
rough thought it proper to try what *Cre-*
dit he had with a Queen, WHOSE GLO-
 RY HE HAD CARRIED TO A HEIGHT
 DEYOND THAT OF ANY OF HER PRE-
 DECESSORS. He wrote therefore a very
 moving Letter to her, complaining of the
 visible Loss of his Interest with her, and
 particularly of her so long deferring the
 Promotion she had promised, of the Per-
 son recommended by her *Ministry*, as a
 faithful Friend to her Government, adding,
 that

that the only Way to make her Reign
 easy, was to be true to that RULE, which
 she had professed to lay down, of prefer-
 ring *none* of those, who appeared against
 her Service and the Nation's Interest, &c.

— He wrote at the same Time to the
 same Effect to me, and I wrote to the
 Queen, and at length by much Solici-
 tation this Matter was obtained, and Doctor
 Potter fixed in the Professorship.

Now, from certain grammatical Defects
 to be found in these Passages, one may ven-
 ture to conclude they are your Grace's own
 Words; and if so, no stronger Evidence
 need be desir'd, of the Supremacy of the
 Junto, and the Vassalage of their nominal
 Mistress.

When the Whigs contended for a Secretary
 of State, it seem'd to be their only Suit, and
 that but a cautionary one, to secure them in
 a Share of the Administration: But that
 Point being carried, they shew their Teeth,
 unsheathe their Talons, and growl for the
 Possession of all.

The

The Queen, as Head of the Church, no sooner presumes to fill two vacant Bishoprics, but they are betrayed forsooth; and her Majesty must be reprimanded, for daring to make use of her Prerogative without a Permit from her Ministers. . . . But thro' the FLATTERIES and INSINUATIONS of her PRIVATE COUNSELLORS, it was grown irksome to consult with them. You should rather have said, Madam, that those Ministers, by their Pride, their All-sufficiency, and their eternal Negatives on whatever she propos'd, had rendered themselves a Grievance to her, which, notwithstanding the splendid Outside of their Services, it was impossible to endure, and almost as impossible to remove.

But, however sensible of this TERRIBLE Situation her Majesty must needs be, she is compell'd, in order to quiet the *Dissatisfaction* of the Whigs, to promise she will offend NO MORE: And is even suffered, as your Grace is obliged to own, by her *secret Counsellors*, to bestow a Bishoprick on a Friend of Lord Sunderland's. . . . But all will not do; a new Demand is made; and tho' she

she only demurs, she is reproached with the **GLORY BESTOW'D** on her by my Lord *Marlborough*; who, not content with having the Army for his Province, the Household for his Lady's, the Treasury for his Friend *Godolphin's*, the Admiralty for his Brother's, and the Secretary's Office for his Son-in-Law's, writes a *moving* Letter to convince the Queen that her Piety was of no manner of use, that the Church ought to be left to abler Hands; and that the *only Way* to make her Reign *easy*, was to be true to the Rule of preferring **NONE** of them who appeared against her *Service*; a cant Word for *Ministry*.

Upon the whole, Madam, give me leave to repeat once more, that you impeach the Queen of the high Crime and Misdemeanor of growing unmanageable, and endeavour to convince your Readers, that the Hardships thereby impos'd on her Ministers were a Load too grievous to be borne; a Trespass too great to be forgiven! Thus stands your Grace's Account. . . . But, according to mine, *Griffel* herself, if a Queen, and

and persecuted as her Majesty was, would either not have stoop'd to so many Indignities, or would not have groan'd under them so long.

From the Intrigues of Parties, the Glitter of Courts, the Mysteries of the Cabinet, the Misunderstandings of Princes, and all the *Eclat* of the great World, which may be call'd the Eminencies of human Life, we are now to descend with your Grace to the Flats and Marshes of Family-Affairs; to a low Tale of Cousins and their Cousins, brought to Court out of Charity; of *ragged Boys* cloath'd and put to School, and *good-for-nothing* Fellows preferr'd to Regiments: a Detail which may serve to gratify your Spleen, but can never contribute to your Fame!

That Mrs. *Abigail Hill*, your Grace's Kinswoman, was the Daughter of a Merchant, undone by projecting; that her Mother had but 500 l. to her Fortune; that their Children were left destitute; that in the midst of your own astonishing Elevation, you were ignorant such Persons were

in the World ; that you had the wonderful Generosity to part with ten Guineas out of your own Purse for their immediate Relief ; and that you afterwards quartered them upon the Queen and the Public, will scarcely be controverted : But that a Lady of your Greatness and Sublimity of Spirit should keep an Inventory of these *Bagatelles* ; that you should think them of Consequence enough to lay before the Public, and couple them with the extraordinary Adventures which make up the Residue of your Story, will ever be Matter of Admiration, as long as that Story shall be read.

Acts of Goodness and Generosity deserve Applause, 'tis true ; but when they take Air thro' Vanity or Ostentation, or become Matters of Insult and Upbraiding, they lose their very Essence, and consequently their Reward.

Thus your Grace has again mistaken the Road to Fame ; and if we should conclude, as you would have us, that where you look'd for Friendship, you met with Ingratitude, we cannot help concluding likewise, that
the

the Disease ran in the Blood, and consequently, that it was, at least, as excusable in her, as in any other Branch of the Family.

But suppose, Madam, 'tis part of a great Lady's Privilege, to give Vent to her Passions in what way she pleases ; did not the Matters of Fact so liberally unbosomed by your Grace, afford sufficient Food to your Resentment ? Or was there the least Necessity to furnish out a Desert at the Expence of Mrs. *Hill, junior,* with the ugly but artful Insinuation which follows ?

' And it is very probable that Mrs. *Hill* has
 ' the Annuity (*beflow'd upon her by the Queen*
 ' *at your Grace's Instance*) to this Day, and
 ' perhaps nothing else, unless she *saved Money*
 ' after her Sister had made her *Deputy to*
 ' the *Privy-Purse*, which she did, as soon
 ' as she had supplanted me.'

It is not, without great Reluctance, that I can prevail with myself to follow your Grace

Grace thro' these dark and dirty By-ways, which surely were never visited by a Person of your Eminence before : But as we have a Ray of Truth to direct us, and a small Discovery to make, I find myself at once obliged to proceed, and to hold my Nose till I have passed thorough.

It has been already urged, that Care had been taken to enclose the Queen from the Access of all obnoxious, or even suspicious Persons ; and that, in order thereto, none were planted about her, but such as were the Creatures of the *Marlborough-Family*.

Of this Number was Mrs. *Masham*, and to answer this very Purpose was she preferred ; tho' the Affair is set forth in so different a Light by your Grace : It was impossible for you to be *always* upon Duty ; it was necessary for the Queen to be *always* observed ; Mrs. *Masham* you had taken out of the DUST ; and you wasnot, it seems, enough acquainted with yourself, to reflect or apprehend, that the Creature would ever presume to rival its Maker.

the young Man, nor his Father, nor his
Grandmother.

What I have to say upon this Subject, at this Time, is, to beg you would find whether there is any Design where you are, that the young Man should make a Visit in the Winter, and contrive some Way to put any such Thought out of their Head, that the Difficulty may not be brought upon me of refusing him Leave to come, if he should ask for it, or forbidding him to come, if he should attempt it: For one of these two Things *I must do*, if either he or his Father should have any Desires to have him see this Country, it being a Thing *I cannot bear*, to have ANY Successor here, though but for a WEEK: And therefore I shall depend upon you, to do every Thing on the other Side of the Water to prevent this MORTIFICATION from coming upon her, that is, and ever will be, most sincerely, &c.
But it is necessary to accompany your Grace a little further on this Topic.

‘ It was upon this Occasion, that the
Queen gave the first Indications of any
Thing like a real Reconcilement to the
Whigs.

And again, afterwards.

‘ She had been present at the Debates in
the House of Lords upon that Subject, and
had heard the Duke of *Buckingham* treat
her with great Disrespect, urging as an Ar-
gument for inviting over the Princess *Sophia*, that the Queen might live till she
did not know what she did, and be *like*
a Child in the Hands of others; and a great
deal to the same Effect. Such rude Treat-
ment from the Tories, and the Zeal and
Success of the Whigs in opposing a Mo-
tion so extremely disagreeable to her, occa-
sioned her to write to me in the following
Terms.

‘ —— I believe, dear Mrs. *Freeman* and
I shall not disagree as we have formerly
done; for I am sensible of the Services those
People have done me that you have a good
Opinion of, and will countenance them,

and am thoroughly convinced of the Malice
and Insolence of *them*, that you have al-
ways been speaking against.

‘ And at this same Time, her Majesty au-
thorized my Lord *Godolphin* to give the ut-
most Assurances to the chief Men of the
Whigs, that she would put herself and her
Affairs into such *Hands* as they should
approve, and would do every Thing pos-
sible for the Security of the Protestant Suc-
cession.

Thus it appears that the Tories fell in the
very Snare they had laid for the Whigs, and,
by rendring themselves personally obnoxious
to the Queen, lost the only Hold they had
then left:

That where Faction is Paramount, every
Service done to the Sovereign, however just
and reasonable in its own Nature, is made a
Jobb by the Minister and his Tools:

That when the Tories quarrelled among
themselves, and the Majority set themselves
in Opposition to the *Marlborough-Family*,
the *Marlborough Family* countenanced the

Whigs; not in Compliment to their Political Creed, but, from the Dictates of Self-defence, to counterbalance the Designs of those who meditated their Overthrow :

That the Whigs, as before insinuated, acted on *Swiss-Principles*, and expected to be paid the Top Price of the Market, for coming plumb into the Measures of the Court, at the Expence of their former Professions :

That the Queen was, on all Hands, considered and treated as a mere Property, which was to be engrossed, divided or transferred, as suited best with the mercenary Views of those State-Brokers, who had the Privilege of dividing the Spoil :

That the Whigs, having no natural Interest in her Majesty, depended solely upon the Ministry for the Compensation of their Services :

And that the Ministry, for their Parts, hop'd, by Means of their new Allies, to *have* and to *hold*, as the Lawyers say, the Queen to themselves: Nay, took Advantage of her overflowing Gratitude, to exact a Sort of Promise of this Royal Monopoly, which,

which, as afterwards appeared, they resolv'd to make the most of.

This was the State of Affairs at Court, when the Motion so often mentioned was defeated. Your Grace and your Associates then began to flatter yourselves, that even the Prerogative was not better established than your Vicegerency: That you might not only recommend a Point or a Person, but insist upon either as understood in your Grant, as a Perquisite of your high Office; and that you might exclude from the Royal Presence every Body who had not the Happiness of being in your good Graces, without even shewing Cause for so doing.

But an unexpected Obstacle arose to thwart and perplex this new-erected Empire of your's, even in its Infancy: Mr. *Harley*, the new Secretary, justly alarm'd at the Queen's giving up herself and her Power into the Hands of any Junto whatever, without Reserve, thought it his Duty now to unfold to her Majesty, the second Part of his Scheme, which, as above-hinted, was,

* That the Queen might reign for herself, and judge for herself; That her Subjects, without Distinction, might have Access to her; That all might both be reconciled to her, and to each other: In short, That she might be fully instructed both in the Characters of Persons and Matters of Fact; and act as well by Knowledge as Advice.

Yes, Madam, this was the formidable Scheme of *Supplanting*, which your Grace is pleased to mention with such Indignation; what you then treated with such Resentment; what you called, *the letting in the Mob upon her Majesty, and into the Secret of Affairs*; and what you endeavoured to defeat, by objecting, That an Interest in the Queen was of too much Importance in itself, and of too sacred a Nature, to be shar'd out among the Vulgar; and that her Majesty would soon grow cheap, if she was expos'd to the familiar Approach of every forward Pretender.

* As confirm'd by her Grace in the following Words.
 'The first Artifice of those Counsellors was, to instill into the Queen, Notions of the high Prerogative of *acting without her Ministers*, and (as they expressed it) of being *Queen indeed.*' Account, p. 211.

But

But these artificial Turns happened not to have all the desired Success; her Majesty was perfectly convinced that Mr. *Harley's* Sentiments were well founded; and, even from the Opposition that was made to them, conceived immediately how necessary it was to follow them: In effect, notwithstanding your Grace's Lectures to the contrary, she render'd her Behaviour in a good Degree conformable to it; and if she did not again receive the Tories into her Councils, she did not behave so as to make them conclude it was impossible.

This was what your Grace could not bear: And from the Moment the Discovery was made, Mr. *Harley's* Ruin was determined, as will appear more evidently in the subsequent Pages.

The Whigs, indeed presuming on their late Service, gave themselves Airs of Importance, and expected, nay demanded to be over-paid: which gave no small Umbrage, as you very well know, Madam, to the Ministry; who, being at the Head of all Things, could ill digest such Treatment;

and accordingly, rather kept them in Hope, than enter'd into full Confidence with them; yet not so dextrously, but the Undertakers for the Whigs got into the Secret, and play'd fast and loose in their Turns, till an Occasion offer'd to make their own Terms, as will appear in its proper Place.

With regard to our mighty Enterprizes abroad this Summer, our Glory seems to have been at the full; and our Posterity will read with Astonishment, that those who so well knew how to conquer, should so little know how to improve their Victories.

May the 14th, the Duke of Marlborough set out for Holland; and August 12th obtained a complete Victory over the French, commanded by the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Villeroy at RAMILLIES; which was followed by a general Revolution in the Low-Countries in Favour of King Charles, and the Reduction of Namur, Dendermond, Aeth, and Ostend.

In Italy, enabled by a Loan of 250,000l. from England, Prince Eugene, after thirty-four Marches to join the Duke of Savoy, offered

offered Battle to the *French* who laid Siege to *Turin*; and after two Hours Engagement, in which the Marshal *Marsin* was kill'd, and the Duke of *Orleans* wounded, utterly defeated them, seiz'd on their Camp, Tents, Baggage, &c. and relieved that Capital.

In *Spain*, King *Charles* was closely besieged in *Barcelona*, by the Marshal *de Thesse* by Land, and the Count *de Thoulouse* by Sea; but was most opportunely relieved by the gallant Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *John Leake*; the Count *de Thoulouse* not staying till the *English* Fleet appeared in Sight, and the Marshal *de Thesse* decamping with the utmost Confusion a few Days after, and leaving his Ammunition, Stores, Tents, and even his sick and wounded Men at the Mercy of the Enemy.

But barely to mention the Earl of *Peterborough*, would be an Injury to his Memory; he deserves much more, and your Grace must excuse me, if I go a little out of my Way, both to display the Usage he met with; as likewise what Advantages we then suffered to slip

thro'

thro' our Hands ; tho' *Spain* was understood to be the principal Cause of the War, and what we were most determined to restore to the House of *Austria*. In doing which I shall not speak from my own Authority, but that of a late noble Lord, whose Knowledge of public Affairs, and his Ability to set them forth, were never yet quoted without Applause.

The brave Earl of *Peterborough* had gone on with a Course of surprizing Successes in *Spain* ; Cities and Kingdoms were reduced to the Obedience of King *Charles* even faster than the Couriers could bring us the Intelligence ; and his Competitor must have been driven quite out in the second Campaign, had not that King been unhappily diverted from pursuing the right Measures that had been concert-ed ; and another General neglected both the securing of *Madrid*, and the getting in Provisions to support the Army for a few Weeks.

After

After this Miscarriage the Earl went to *Genoa*, and pawn'd his own Credit to take up Money to preserve the Army from starving ; from thence he proceeded to *Turin*, and form'd such a Scheme for the taking of *Toulon*, that (morally speaking) it could not have miscarried, if the principal part of the Project, (which was to begin the Campaign early by entring into *Roussillon* in order to invade *France* on that side, with an Army to be compos'd of a Detachment from *Savoy*, another of but 5000 from our Forces in *Spain*, the rest to be made up of Miquelets ; and when the French should have drawn their principal Forces that way, then the Duke of *Savoy* was to have march'd to *Toulon*) had not been disappointed by the Earl of *Galloway's* utterly refusing to spare 5000 Men from that Army, on pretence that he had positive Orders from *England* not to divide his Forces. Whether he had any such Orders or not, or whether his Orders were to cross all the Earl of *Peterborough's* Designs (which he effectually did) is not yet

yet plainly discovered, but worth the Enquiry of a Parliament in fit time; this is certain, that, when all the World applauded that Earl's Conduct, and whilst the whole Nation were extreamly pleas'd and gratify'd with his unparallel'd Atchievements, the Ministers thought fit to *turn him out of all Command*; and that they might affront him beyond Example, they even writ to Foreign Princes to discountenance him; whether they were afraid he should *eclipse the Glory of another*, or that *too quick a Period would be put to the War*, or that the French King was so alarmed at the Progress of our Arms in those parts, that he began to make Overtures of Peace (as the Earl had more honestly than warily let them know) and might probably give us the Advantage of treating the Peace on that side, to the *Disappointment of those* who never intended it should be negociated in any other Place but *Holland*; or whatever it were, they *stopp'd the Progress of our Arms in those Parts, lost two Kingdoms to the Enemy,* and

and *depriv'd* their *Country* of the *Services* of one who had, in so short a time, given such a Specimen of an enterprizing Genius, such Proofs of his superior Abilities, such Demonstrations of a Conduct always successful, and never subject to Mistakes or Disappointments ; and had made so many and so great Conquests with a handful of Men, that he has rarely been equalled, never exceeded by any General of the present or former Times : His Enemies had no better Foundation for their Proceedings against him than false Reports, Aspersion and Calumny ; and tho', after his coming home, a Minister of State sent him five Articles of pretended Accusations, yet one of them was grounded on a meer Mistake of their own, and the Earl justify'd himself in the other four, by producing their own Directions and Orders for what he had done ; so far had these Ministers forgotten their own Acts and Deeds ; and 'tis since evident to the whole Kingdom that they had nothing at all to lay to his Charge ; for when, in the next Session,

he

he desired to be heard in his own Vindication, his Adversaries had no other shift than to order Multitudes of Papers to be brought in, tiring the House with reading them, still avoiding to enter into any Matter of Fact, and adjourning it from time to time, till they had spun out the Session.

Thus, however illustrious the Year 1706 was rendered by so many and signal Advantages obtained over *France*, it is evident, that by the Dismission of the Lord *Peterborough*, and the Neglect of the fair Opportunity (which was principally the Growth of his Courage and Conduct) to set K. *Charles* on the Throne of *Spain*, our Losses in point of Interest, more than counterbalanced our Gains in point of Glory.

We must now return to your Grace and the War of Parties; which, notwithstanding the main Bodies were now dispers'd, rag'd with as much Violence as ever among their Leaders.

I have

I have already hinted, that tho' the Ministers had made use of the Whigs, and the Whigs had conform'd to the Measures of the Minister ; this new Alliance was not found at Bottom, and each distrusted the Sincerity of the other.

If the Ministers were justly afraid of being over-borne by the Cravings, Importunities, and Dictates of an assuming Party ; they, on the other hand, equally dreaded the Artifices, Doubles, and Circumventions, justly to be expected from Ministers so lately at the Head of their Adversaries.

In order, therefore, to procure Security for the Performance of Articles, they insisted on having one staunch Friend of their own in the Secret of Affairs, to whom they might apply, and on whom they might depend : The Person they pitched upon was Lord *Sunderland*, another Branch of the *Marlborough*-Family, who seems to have been heartily espoused by your Grace, tho' not entirely approv'd of either by the General or the Treasurer, as is evident from the follow-

-following Passages out of the Account before us.

' But notwithstanding this, it was not till after much Solicitation, that her Majesty could be prevailed with, so far to oblige the Whigs, as to make my Lord *Sunderland* Secretary of State in the Room of Sir *Charles Hedges*. The Whigs, after the Services they had done, and the Assurances the Queen had given them, thought it reasonable to expect, that one of the Secretaries at least should be such a Man as they could place a Confidence in. They believed they might trust my Lord *Sunderland*; and though they did not think him the properest Man for the Post, yet being my Lord *Marlborough's* Son-in-law, they chose to recommend him to her Majesty, because, as they expressed themselves to me, they imagined it was driving the Nail that would go.

' I must observe here, that my Lord *Marlborough* was not, in his Inclination, for this Promotion of my Lord *Sunderland*.

It was not, therefore, the Effects of your Confidence in Mrs. Masham, but the Presumption of your own Strength and Importance that lulled you in Security so long: 'Tis true you tell us, that, when you had observed, she grew more *shy* and *reserved*, you imputed it to her *peculiar Moroseness of Temper*: And that when she had taken the Liberty to marry without your Advice or Consent, you was willing to interpret it to be *Bashfulness and want of Breeding* rather than any Thing worse. I say, Madam, you here set yourself forth as incapable of Jealousy, as void of all Apprehension. But as soon as the Alarm is taken, your Passions are all rous'd: And the very great Concern you immediately betray, sufficiently proves how much depended on the grand Point of keeping the Queen entirely to yourself. But the whole Scene between your Grace and your new Rival, as well as the Passages connected with it, though low and groveling in themselves, are too curious and artificial to be passed over without pointing at such Particulars as serve to authorize this Conclusion.

The first Thing, which led me into Enquiries about her Conduct, was, the being told (in the Summer of 1707,) that my Cousin *Hill* was privately married to Mr. *Masham*. I went to her and asked her if it were true. She owned it was, and begged my Pardon for having concealed it from me. As much Reason as I had to take ill this Reserve in her Behaviour, I was willing to impute it to *Bashfulness* and *Want of Breeding*, rather than to any Thing worse. I embraced her with my usual Tenderness, and very heartily wished her Joy ; and then turning the Discourse, entered into her Concerns in as friendly a Manner as possible, contriving how to accommodate her with Lodgings, by removing her Sister into some of my own. I then enquired of her very kindly, whether the Queen knew of her Marriage ; and very innocently offered her my Service, if she needed it, to make that Matter easy. She had by this Time learnt the Art of Dissimulation pretty well, and answered with an Air of Uncertainty, that the Bed-Chamber-Women had

had already acquainted the Queen with it;
 hoping by this Answer to divert any farther
 Examination into the Matter. But I went
 PRESENTLY to the Queen and asked her,
 why she had not been so kind as to tell me of
 my Cousin's Marriage, EXPOSTULATING
 with her upon the Point, and putting her
 in Mind of what she used often to say to
 me out of Montaigne, That it was no
 Breach of Promise of Secrecy to tell such a
 Friend any Thing, because it was no more
 than telling it to one's self. All the An-
 swer I could obtain from her Majesty was
 this, I have a hundred Times bid Masham
 tell it you, and she would not.

The Conduct both of the Queen and of
 Mrs. Masham, convinced me that there
 was some Mystery in the Affair, and there-
 upon I set myself to enquire as particular-
 ly as I could into it. And in less than a
 WEEK'S TIME, I discovered, That my
 Cousin was become an absolute Favourite;
 that the Queen herself was present at her
 Marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's Lodgings, at
 which Time her Majesty had called for a

‘ round Sum out of the Privy-Purse; that
 ‘ Mrs. Masham came often to the Queen,
 ‘ when the Prince was asleep, and was ge-
 ‘ nerally two Hours every Day in private
 ‘ with her: And I likewise then discovered
 ‘ beyond all Dispute Mr. HARLEY’s * COR-
 ‘ RESPONDENCE and INTEREST AT
 ‘ COURT BY MEANS OF THIS WOMAN.

‘ I was struck with Astonishment at such
 ‘ an Instance of INGRATITUDE, and should
 ‘ not have believed, if there had been any
 ‘ Room left for doubting.

‘ My Lord Marlborough was at first no less
 ‘ incredulous than I, as appears by the fol-
 ‘ lowing Paragraph of a Letter from him, in
 ‘ Answer to one from me on this Subject.

Meldest June 3, 1707.

‘ The wisest Thing is to have to do with
 ‘ as few People as possible. If you are sure
 ‘ that Mrs. Masham speaks of BUSINESS to
 ‘ the

* That Mr. Harley made use of the *Heifer* occasionally, according to the Phrase of those Times, is, I believe, scarce to be disputed: But that he attain'd his Interest at Court by Mrs. Masham only, is already disprov'd, Pag. 217.

' the Queen, I should think, you might with some Caution tell her of it, which would do good. For she certainly must be grateful and will mind what you say.'

Thus to Talk of *Business* to the Queen, to have an *Intimacy* with Mr. *Harley*, to share in her Majesty's Favour, and to have private Conversations with her, were *Crimes* of the first Magnitude in Mrs. *Masham*, and so many Trespasses on the PECULIAR of Madam the Dutchesse of *M-----.*

But not satisfied with having traced out the Matter of Fact, your Grace proceeds to inflame the Indictment, by giving us to understand that this heinous Intimacy was of long standing, as follows.

' It became easy now to decypher many Particulars, which had hitherto remained mysterious; and my Reflection quickly brought to my Mind many Passages, which had seemed odd and unaccountable; but had left no Impressions of Suspicion or Jealousy. Particularly I remembered that a long while before this, being with the Queen, (to whom I had gone *very privately*

' rately by a secret Passage, from my Lodg-
 ' ings to the Bed-Chamber) on a sudden
 ' this Woman, not knowing I was there,
 ' came in with the boldest and gaiest Air
 ' possible, but, upon Sight of ME, stopped;
 ' and immediately, changing her Manner, and
 ' making a most solemn Courtesy, *Did your*
 ' *Majesty ring?* And then went out again.
 ' This singular Behaviour needed no Inter-
 ' preter now, to make it understood.'

The grand Inference your Grace draws
 from all this is, THAT YOU WERE BE-
 TRAY'D. But those of the World are ra-
 ther such as these, THAT THE QUEEN
 WAS A CAPTIVE, AND YOU HER GOALER:
 THAT SHE WAS NEITHER MISTRESS OF
 HER POWER, NOR FREE TO EXPRESS
 HER OWN INCLINATIONS. THAT SHE
 WAS SO FAR OVERAWED BY A LENGTH
 OF OPPRESSION, AS TO DREAD THE
 VERY APPROACH OF HER TORMENTRESS.
 THAT SHE WAS FORCED TO UNBOSOM
 HERSELF BY STEALTH; AND THAT
 SHE DURST NOT VENTURE UPON A CON-
 TEST WITH YOUR GRACE, EVEN TO

SET HERSELF FREE FROM YOUR INSUP-
PORTABLE TYRANNY.—A Situation so
terrible, that no private Person would for
any Consideration submit to it; and conse-
quently, what a Sovereign might justly en-
deavour, at almost any Rate, to be delivered
from!

Were we then to compare the *Ingratitude*
of Mrs. *Masham* with that of another great
Lady, to whose Advantage would the Ba-
lance turn? To whose Share would the greatest
Load of Reproach and Censure fall?

But your Grace will, perhaps, plead the
Proverb, *That Comparisons are odious*, and
we shall be obliged in Point of Courtesy to
wave the Experiment. Upon the whole,
though perhaps it might not so well be-
come Mrs. *Masham* as any Body else, to
rescue the Queen out of so miserable a
Vassalage, and though 'tis possible Mr. *Har-
ley's* Share in doing her this great and sea-
sonable good Office, might not be without
a Mixture of Self-interest; yet with respect
to her Majesty, it was greatly meritorious;
and a very little Casuistry would serve to

prove, that where our Duty is first due, our first Services are due likewise.

I have, already, observ'd, Madam, that Mr. *Harley* is intended to be the second Devil of your Drama; as likewise that your Temper is so extremely FRANK and OPEN, (your own Way of describing it) that the Customs and Manners of the World, are now better than Cobwebs to your Grace.

Thus, in expatiating on the dreadful Shock you received in the Queen's Affections by the Means of Mrs. *Masham*, according to your State of the Case, or in Consequence of your own imperious and decisive Manner, according to mine, you make no Scruple to violate private Correspondences, (hitherto held sacred) and to display before the World Mr. HARLEY's Complements to your Lord, on several of his Victories, as so many Proofs of an unlimited Attachment, which no Consideration could justify him for breaking thro'.

If therefore Mr. *Harley*, in Compliance with the Times, has, in those Letters, better supported the Character of a Politician than a

Plain-Dealer, we cannot pass any Censure upon him, without accompanying it with some ungentle Thoughts of the Person who brought those Letters to Light, so long after the Writer was no more.

While your Grace was thus ridiculously embroiled at home, the Business of the War was the Subject of your Lord's Attention abroad : The Successes of the last Campaign had induced the Enemy to offer Peace by two Canals on such advantagious Conditions to the Emperor, that it was not his Fault they were not accepted : But the Sun still shining on our military Harvest, it was thought proper by the rest of the Confederates to make the most of so promising a Season : In Consequence of which the Imperial Court suffered the *French* to break thro' their ill-defended Lines, into the Empire, to pass the *Rhine*, seise their Magazines, and lay the Circle of *Swabia* under Contribution.

Nor was this all : For when Lord Peterborough's Design upon *Toulon*, before-mentioned, was to be put in Execution, they draughted off 12,000 Men from the Quo-

ta to be employed in that Service, in order to reduce *Naples*, and sent such Orders to Prince *Eugene* not to expose the rest, as rendered the Design abortive, tho' nobly assisted by a strong Squadron of *English* and *Dutch* Men of War, under the Command of Sir *Cloudsley Shovel*, who was cast away in his Return Home.

In *Spain* the fatal Battle of *Almanza* was fought, which decided the Fate of that Kingdom: And King *Charles*, who, the Year before, had twice driven his Rival back into *France*, and had the Crown within his Reach, was again reduced to the single Province of *Catalonia*.

At Sea, tho' Sir *George Rook* was laid aside, and the *French* were not able to set out a Fleet, nothing memorable was perform'd; but, on the contrary, our Merchants suffer'd more than ever, both in waiting for Convoys, and in venturing to sail without, when they were either denied or delayed; both which were often the Case.

In *Flanders* the two Armies fac'd one another the whole Summer, and at last broke

up

up without performing any Thing worth Notice.

It is here necessary to make an Observation, which, in the Heat of your Resentment, your Grace has omitted, viz. Though the Queen had no Dislike to the Triumphs of a Thanksgiving-Day, she ever thought it much too dearly purchased by the Lives of her Subjects; That, tho' a Sovereign, she had a Heart which overflowed with Humanity; insomuch, that the Lists of the slain and wounded were seldom laid before her, but her Eyes swam with Tears, which neither the Joy of Victory, nor the Formality of Congratulation could restrain.

Hitherto every Year of the War had been distinguished by some Success; or adorn'd with some Triumph: But this, instead of being crown'd with Laurels, was hung with Sables: the Victory at *Almanza* had been as complete as that of *Blenheim*; and was attended with even greater Advantages: All the Infantry almost to a Man being cut off, and scarce the Shadow of an Army remaining.

If,

If, therefore, the Queen was melancholy in the Midst of Triumphs, it must be imagin'd she was now in a Manner disconsolate ; a Field of Blood was ever before her Eyes ; the Groans of the Dying were ever in her Ears ; the Devastations of a ruinous War hung an eternal Weight upon her Heart.

To whom, therefore, could she unbosom this Variety of Sorrows ? Not to your Grace : The War was now become your Friend, instead of the Queen, and had absorb'd all the Zeal and Affection you had formerly devoted to her Majesty : Whenever, therefore, she touched upon that jarring String, you called it *Vapours*, put on a Brow of Disgust and Disdain, talk'd of Victory, Triumph and Glory, and every Thing but the *Gains* they were attended with to the *Marlborough-Family*.

If to the Treasurer, he behav'd with more Respect, but equal Insensibility ; he insinuated her Majesty must be governed not by her Passions, but by the Advice of her Ministers ; — that they best knew the Equity of their own Conduct, and that, in the End,

all

all Things would contribute to the Liberty of Europe, the Good of her Subjects, and her own Repose.

If to the General : He besought her Majesty to have Patience but for one Year more, and she would then certainly obtain her Desire upon her Enemies.

Thus silenced, but not satisfied, her Majesty was obliged to look elsewhere for that Comfort and Consolation which she could not obtain where she principally expected it : And where could she so reasonably apply as to Mr. Harley, who had already given her such Proofs of his Moderation, Ability and Attachment to her real Interest ? and what Need was there for any *Practices*, as your Grace stiles them, on his Side, to compass what she was so ready and desirous to bestow ?

As her Majesty had not actually leas'd herself out to the *Marlborough-Family*, she had certainly a Right to place her Confidence in whom she pleased : And no Man living, I believe, would have thought himself oblig'd

to

to prefer the good Graces of the Duke to those of the Queen.

Well, but did he as yet avow his Defection? No; and he would have ill deserv'd the Name of a Politician if he had: For nothing is more certain, than that all the Power of the Kingdom was then in the Hands of the ministerial Junto; and we shall soon find, that even the Queen herself was no Match for such almighty Opponents.

But, to return to your Grace; after making Use of one Paragraph of a Reply of Mr. Harley's to a Letter of the Duke's, which you have not thought proper to insert, your Account proceeds thus.

' The Conduct which Mr. Harley observ'd, after these Assurances, was so directly contrary to them, and became quickly so notorious, that my Lord Godolphin could not help representing it to the Queen as of the utmost Prejudice to her Affairs: And when he found that her Majesty would believe nothing of it, he went so far as to say, That if Mr. Harley continued to act the Part he did, and yet to have so much Crédit

dit

‘ dit with her, as he perceived he had, Lord
 ‘ Marlborough and himself must of NECESS-
 ‘ SITY QUIT HER SERVICE. The Queen
 ‘ appeared pretty much *alarmed* at this, and
 ‘ presently wrote a Letter to me, in which
 ‘ were several Expressions of great Kindness.

‘ Kensington, Oct. the 30th.

‘ If I have not answered all my dear Mrs.
 ‘ Freeman’s Letters (as indeed I should have
 ‘ done) I beg she would not impute it to any
 ‘ Thing but the Apprehensions I was in of
 ‘ saying, what might add to the ill Impres-
 ‘ sions she has of me. For though I believe
 ‘ we are both of the same Opinion in the
 ‘ main, I have the *Misfortune* that I cannot
 ‘ agree exactly in every *Thing*, and therefore
 ‘ what I say is not thought to have the least
 ‘ Colour of Reason in it, which makes me
 ‘ really not care to enter into Particulars;
 ‘ but tho’ I am unwilling to do it, it is im-
 ‘ possible for me to help giving you some An-
 ‘ swer to your last Letter, in which I find
 ‘ you think me insensible of every *Thing*. I
 ‘ am very sorry, you, who have known me

so long, can give Way to such a Thought,
 as that I do not think the parting with my
 Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer
 of much Consequence, because I did not
 mention any Thing of my Lord Marlbo-
 rough's kind Letter concerning me. The
 Reason of that was, I really was in a great
 Hurry when I writ to you, and not having
 Time to write on that Subject to both, I
 thought it was the most necessary to endea-
 vour to let him see he had no Reason to
 have Suspicion of any one's having Power
 with me, besides himself and my Lord
 Treasurer, and I hope they will believe me.
(What strange Condescensions?)

Can dear Mrs. Freeman think that I can
 be so stupid, as not to be sensible of the
 great Services that my Lord Marlborough
 and my Lord Treasurer have done me, nor
 of the great Misfortune it would be, if they
 should quit my Service? No, sure, you can-
 not believe me to be so void of Sense
 and Gratitude. I never did, nor never will
 give them any just Reason to forsake me;
 and they have too much Honour and too
 sincere

' sincere a Love for their Country to leave
 ' me without a Cause. And I beg you
 ' would not add that to my other Misfortunes,
 ' of PUSHING them on to such an unkind and
 ' unjustifiable Action. I think I had best
 ' say no more for Fear of being too TROUBLE-
 ' som : But whatever becomes of me, I shall
 ' preserve a most sincere and tender Passion
 ' for my dear Mrs. Freeman to my last Mo-
 ' ment.

' After my Return to London, I had ano-
 ' ther kind Letter from her Majesty in the
 ' following Terms.

Saturday Night.

' My dear Mrs. Freeman, I cannot go to
 ' Bed without renewing a Request that I
 ' have often made, that you would banish
 ' all unkind and unjust Thoughts of your poor,
 ' unfortunate, faithful Morley, which I saw
 ' by the Glimpse I had of you Yesterday you
 ' were full of. [What a Face does this de-
 ' scribe ?] Indeed I do not deserve them, and
 ' if you could see my Heart, you would find
 ' it as sincere, as tender, and passionately
 ' fond of you as ever, and as truly sensible of

your Kindness in telling me your Mind upon
all Occasions. Nothing shall ever alter me.
Though we have the Misfortune to differ
in *some Things*, I will ever be the same to
my dear, dear Mrs. Freeman, who I do af-
- sure once more, I am more tenderly and
sincerely her's than it is possible ever to ex-
- press.

The *Conduct* of Mr. Harley's, which
is above represented as so obnoxious to
those two Dictators of the Queen's, is
elsewhere explained by your Grace, under
the Title of *Practices*, to be an Endeavour
to render the Whigs jealous of Lord Godol-
phin and Lord Marlborough; and of insinu-
ating to the Tories, that it was wholly owing
to those two great Lords, that They were not
still possessed of ALL the Places and Em-
ployments. *Account*, p. 228.

To the first of which Particulars I shall
beg Leave to reply, that the Whigs were
ever jealous of those Lords, as I have already
prov'd, and as it appears even by the Duke of
Marlborough's Letter, p. 275, and therefore
Mr. Harley was under no Necessity to give

himself any Trouble to do what was done to his Hand : Beside Madam, it farther appears in your own Book, that he had no Credit with the Whigs, and it was for that very Reason, they insisted on Lord *Sunderland's* Promotion, in order to have one of the Secretaries at least in their Interest. And to the last, that Mr. *Harley* had made no Secret of his Opinion, that Tories and Whigs, not ALL of either, ought to be employed without Distinction : Consequently every Body knew, that if the Queen did not take her Measures accordingly, it could be owing only to the Opposition of your Grace and your two Coadjutors.

But 'tis notorious these were not the *Practices* for which Mr. *Harley* was really so obnoxious : The Queen was no way answerable for his Behaviour to the two Factions, and of Course, was not justly liable to the formidable Threat denounced against her, of being deprived of those mighty *Supporters* of her Arms, the Treasurer and the General, on that Account.

There must, then, be some other *Practice* of his, which, however provoking,

your Grace has not thought proper to bring to light. And this material Defect, may, from the very Truth, be supplied as follows.

Mr. Harley had seen with infinite Concern, the almost incredible Power, which, thro' an Abuse of her Majesty's excessive Goodness, had devolved on the *Marlborough*-Family, and the arbitrary Use they made of it; not only the Treasury, Army, Fleet, and all the Offices being under their Direction, and at their Disposal, but even the Legislature likewise: That, on the Strength of these vast Acquisitions, they look'd down upon the Queen herself, and terrify'd her into whatever Measures they pleas'd: That the Foundation of this accumulated Greatness rested on the War; and that what was, alike, a Grievance both to the Sovereign and the Subject, made an annual Addition to this unnatural Excrescence and Wen of Power, which threatened even the Constitution itself: That Ambition is boundless; that Dominion followed Power; and that a Woman, without Issue upon the Throne; a People rent into

into Factions ; and a mercenary Army, at the Beck of a General, victorious abroad, and omnipotent at home, conspir'd to form such a Crisis, as never had a Precedent in our Annals before ; and which might be made a Basis for Projects not to be thought of without Horror.

In such an alarming Situation did the Prospect of our Affairs appear to Mr. *Harley*, when the Queen first began to throw out such Expressions as argued her to be uneasy at the Continuance of the War, and disgusted with the Treatment she daily received from those who had the Direction of it.

As a loyal Subject, therefore, as an upright Counsellor, a sound Politician, and a firm Patriot, he thought himself not only obliged to lend an attentive Ear to the Queen's Complaints, but to make a Tender of his best Services, in order to remove them ; as, likewise, to give her a Glimpse of the Dangers which might arise from such an Overbalance of Power in one Family, and the Necessity of some Expedient to make the Scales even.

And, as the first Step to this desirable End, he thought it his Duty to lay before her Majesty such Propositions as had already been made by *France* towards a PEACE; the Reasonableness of setting on foot a Negotiation at least; and the little Probability of her being permitted to do so, as long as she continued to be wholly at the Mercy of those who, from selfish Views, were obstinately bent to continue the War.

That these and such like Discourses made a very deep Impression on the Queen's Mind; and that Lord *Godolphin* found more difficulty than usual to work her to his Will, cannot be denied.

But if the *acting this Part* was a Crime, why was it not distinctly specify'd? Why was it not brought to Account? And why was the Charge against him laid in such general Terms, that, tho' represented as guilty, this, or some such Eclaircissement was necessary to point out the Nature of his Transgression? Tis true, Madam, in one lofty Passage, (p. 238, 239) you charge him with contriving how

to RUIN that GLORIOUS MAN, (the General) in order to raise himself upon his RUINS. But how, or by what Means ; or what we are to understand by this hideous Word *Ruin*, so elegantly repeated, is left wholly to conjecture.

Sore against the Grain, I must again leave the Cabinet, to comment on the Broils of the Bed-chamber ; in which I shall concern myself as little as possible ; because, they appear no otherwise important to me, than as the Queen was unhappily involved in them, and as those *unamicable Collisions* serve now and then to strike a Light on Objects that much better deserve our Consideration.

I was every Day, says your Grace, in Expectation of hearing from Mrs. Masham, who, I supposed, would now endeavour to clear up what had created so much Uneasiness between us. But, to my great Surprise, I was TWELVE DAYS at St. James's (your Grace is very exact) under the same Roof with her, before I had so much as any Message from her. At length having one Night past by her Window in my return Home, she sent one

of her Maids to my Woman to ask her
 how I did, and to let me know that she
 was gone to *Kensington*. This Behaviour
 was so very ridiculous, that the next Time
 I saw the Queen I could not forbear speak-
 ing of it, and at the same Time telling her
 all that had past between us. The Queen
 looked grave and said, *She was mightily in*
the Right not to come near me. I answer-
 ed that I did not understand that, since
 she had expressed such a Concern at my
 Displeasure, and since the clearing up of
 Matters had been reserved to our Meeting.
 The Queen replied, that it was very na-
 tural for her to be afraid to come to me,
 when she saw I was angry with her. [With
 your Grace's Pardon, what more could be
 said of a Fury?] To this I answered,
 that she could have no Reason to be afraid,
 unless she knew herself guilty of some Crime.
 It was the Queen's usual Way on any Oc-
 casion, where she was predetermined (and
 my Lord Marlborough has told me that it
 was her Father's) to repeat over and over
 some principal Words she had resolved to
 use,

use, and to stick firmly to them. She continued therefore to say, it was very natural, and she was very much in the right, so that this Conversation with her Majesty produced nothing but an *undeniable Proof*, that the new Favourite was deeply rooted in her Heart and Affections; and that it was thought more adviseable to let the Breach between me and Mrs. Masham grow wider and wider, than to use any Method to make it up.

How can this be reconciled with what follows?

But now within two Days, Mrs. Masham contrived to make me a Visit when I was abroad. Upon observing this, and considering that our Meeting could be to no Purpose but to draw fruitless and false Professions from her, I gave a general Order to my Servants to say, whenever she should call, that I was not at Home. After some Time, it was thought PROPER that she should WRITE to me, and DESIRE I would

would SEE HER; to which I consented,
 and appointed her a Time! When she
 came, I began to tell her, that it was very
 plain, the Queen was much changed towards
 me, and that I could not attribute this to
 any thing but her SECRET MANAGE-
 MENT; that I knew she had been very
 frequently with her Majesty in private,
 and that the very Attempt to conceal this,
 by Artifice, from such a Friend as I had
 been to her, was alone a very ill Sign, and
 enough to prove a very bad Purpose at Bot-
 tom. To this she very gravely answered,
 That she was sure the Queen, who HAD lou-
 ded me extremely, would always be VERY
 KIND to me. It was some Minutes before
 I could recover from the Surprize, with
 which so extraordinary an Answer struck
 me. To see a Woman whom I HAD
 RAISED OUT OF THE DUST, put on such
 a superior Air, and to hear her assure me,
 by way of CONSOLATION, that the Queen
 would be always VERY KIND to me! At
 length I went on to REPROACH her with
 her INGRATITUDE, and her SECRET

MA-

MANAGEMENT with the Queen to UN-
 DERMINE those, who had so long, and
 with so much Honour served her Majesty.
 To this she answered, *That she never spoke*
to the Queen about BUSINESS, but that she
sometimes gave her Petitions, which came
to the Back-stairs, and with which she
knew I did not care to be troubled. And
 with such insincere Answers she thought
 to colour over the Matter; while I knew
 for certain, she had, before this, obtained
 Pensions for several of her Friends, and
 had frequently paid to others, out of the
 Privy-Purse, Sums of Money, which the
 Queen had ordered me to bring her; and
 that she was, every Day, long with her
 Majesty in private.

How strange it is, that a Lady of your
 Grace's Sagacity should publish an Account
 by way of Justification of your Conduct,
 which, in such a Variety of Particulars, con-
 cludes quite the contrary? That the Queen
 was changed towards you, you charge, point
 Blank, to the *secret Management* of Mrs.
 Masham; as tho' her Majesty had neither

Sentiment nor even Sensation of her own ; or, as if it was to be imagined that Mrs. Masham would venture to attack such an established Favourite, if at all, till first authorized by the Queen's own Expressions ; But even her having held private Conversations with her Majesty, without BETRAYING them to the Lady-Paramount, was *alone* a very ill Sign, &c. And to assure you, that, in regard to her former Affection, the Queen would always be *very kind* to you, only alarm'd your Pride, but contributed nothing towards convincing you, that no Designs had been formed to your Prejudice ; and when she denies that she ever spoke to the Queen about BUSINESS, you call her Answers *insincere* ; tho' unable to prove them so : For the whole of the Indictment, as laid by yourself, amounts to no more than this, That she had Credit enough with the Queen to obtain Pensions and Bounties for her Friends without the Mediation of your Grace ; not the least Mention being made of any one Circumstance to demonstrate that she had endeavoured to undermine the Ministry in Concert with

with Mr. *Harley*, which is the grand Point you have been labouring to establish.

Indeed, that, afterwards, (when you declared an open Enmity to her, and made a Point of having her removed, as well as Mr. *Harley*) she came into that Gentleman's Measures, and supported his Interest, in order to support her own, will not be disputed on one hand, nor can be justly blam'd on the other; especially when 'tis consider'd, that your Grace carried your Resentments to such a length, as to turn her abruptly out of certain Lodgings at *Kensington Palace* (another ugly Incident most discreetly not brought to *Account*) in a Manner which very ill agreed with the Professions of Respect and Resignation, to the Pleasure of your Royal Mistress, which you so liberally express in the Letter to her Majesty, that took its Rise from the following Interview.

Not many Days after this, I went to pay my Respects to the Queen in the *Christmas Holidays*, and before I went in, I learnt from the Page that Mrs. *Masham* was just then sent for. The Moment I

saw

I saw her Majesty, I plainly perceived she
 was very uneasy. She stood all the while
 I was with her, and looked as coldly upon
 me, as if her Intention was, that I should
 no longer doubt of my Loss of her Af-
 fections. Upon observing what Recep-
 tion I had, I said, I was very sorry I had
 happened to come so unseasonably. I was
 making my Courtesy to go away, when
 the Queen, with a great deal of Disorder
 in her Face, and without speaking one
 Word, took me by the Hand: And, when
 thereupon I stooped to kiss her's, & she
 took me up with a very cold Embrace
 and then, without one kind Word, let me
 go. So strange a Treatment of me, after
 my long and faithful Services, and after
 such repeated Assurances from her Ma-
 jesty of an unalterable Affection, made me
 think that I ought in Justice to myself,
 as well as in Regard to my Mistress's In-
 terest, to write to her in the plainest and
 sincerest Manner possible, and expostulate
 with her upon her Change to me and up-
 on the new Counsels, by which she seemed
 to

ed to be wholly governed. My Letter was in
of these Terms. At 3d in the evening
ocurred in a violent
blood I saw
December the 27th. 1707.

If Mrs. Morley will be so just as to re-
flect and examine impartially her last Re-
ception of Mrs. Freeman, how very diffe-
rent from what it has been formerly;
when you were glad to see her come in;
and sorry when she went away; certainly
you can't wonder at her Reproaches, up-
on an Embrace that seemed to have no
Satisfaction in it, but that of getting rid
of her, in order to enjoy the Conversation
of one, that has the good Fortune to
please you much better, though I am sure
no Body did ever endeavour it with more
Sincerity than Mrs. Freeman has done.
And if I had considered only my Inter-
est and that of my Family, I might
have born this Change without any Com-
plaint. For I believe Mrs. Morley would
be sincere in doing us any Good. But I
have once been honoured with an open,
kind Confidence and Trust, and that
made

made all my Service agreeable ; and it is
 not possible to lose it without a *Mortifi-*
cation too great to be passed with Silence,
 being sure that I have never done any thing
 to forfeit it, having never betrayed nor
 abused that Confidence, by giving you a
 false Representation of any Body. My
 Temper is naturally *plain* and *sincere*, and
 Mrs. *Morley* did like it for many Years.
 It is not in the least altered. But I can't
 help thinking those Things reasonable that
 appear to be so. And I appeal to God Al-
 mighty, that I never designed or pursued
 any Thing, but as I was thoroughly con-
 vinced it was for Mrs. *Morley's* TRUE
 INTEREST AND HONOUR : And, I think,
 I may safely put it to that Trial, if any
 Thing has yet prov'd unsuccessful, that
 was of any publick Consequence, that
 Mrs. *Freeman* has been earnest to per-
 suade Mrs. *Morley* to. And it is not pos-
 sible for me to dissemble so as to appear
 what I am not.

So much by Way of Apology for what
 happened upon Wednesday last. And if

• Mrs.

' Mrs. Morley has any Remains of the Tenderness she once professed for her faithful Freeman, I would beg she might be treated one of these two Ways, either with the Openness and Confidence of a Friend, as she was for twenty Years; (for to pretend Kindness without Trust and Openness of Heart is a Treatment for CHILDREN, not Friends;) or else in that Manner, that is necessary for the Post she is in, which unavoidably forces her to be often troubling Mrs. Morley upon the Account of others. And if she pleases to chuse which of these Ways, or any other she likes to have Mrs. Freeman live in, she promises to follow any Rule that is laid down that is possible, and is resolved to her Life's End and upon all Occasions to shew, that Mrs. Morley never had a more faithful Servant.'

' My Lord Marlborough, or my Lord Godolphin (I have forgot which) carried my Letter. The Queen took no Notice of it to either of these Lords. But some

Days after she wrote me an *Answer*, [which your Grace has not thought proper to publish] in which she very much softened what had past. I was much pleased to find her Majesty in that Disposition; and once more put on as *easy* an Appearance as *I could*.

It has been often observed, that Politicians should be without Passions; and that Friendship once in the Wane is never to be restored by Altercations: In Defiance of both which Rules, we here find your Grace, calling the Queen to an Account for her Looks; when you had lost her Heart, and making her uneasy with Expostulations and Reproaches, when it was manifest the Charm was broke, and nothing but the Magic of Complacency and Submission could recover your lost Dominion.

But your Grace's Politics were of a peculiar Kind: As you could not bear a Rival in your Power, so neither could you bear any Restraint on your Passions: And this Violence and Impetuosity of Temper is what

I understand to be the Frankness and Openness you so frequently boast of. . . . But we must accompany your Grace a little farther.

But in a very short Time after this, the great Breach at Court became public. Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had often told the Queen in the most respectful Manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any Service, while Mr. Harley was in her Confidence. Her Majesty nevertheless seemed determined not to part with him; till at length those two Lords, being urged by Necessity to it, declared their RESOLUTION TO SERVE NO LONGER WITH HIM, and they absented themselves from the Council. Mr. Harley would have proceeded to Business without them when the Council met, but the Duke of Somerset said, he did not see how it could be to any Purpose, when neither the General nor the Treasurer was present; whereupon the Council immediately broke up. This had such an Effect upon

on the QUEEN, that very soon after, Mr. Harley was * dismissed from his Post.

Such a COMPLIANCE with the Ministers seemed to the Eyes of the WORLD a very GREAT CONCESSION, but was in Truth NOTHING. For it was evident by what followed, that this Appearance of giving up Mr. Harley was with his own Consent, and by his own Advice, who, as long as Mrs. Masham continued in Favour, would, under Pretence of visiting her (who was his Cousin) have all the Opportunities he could wish for, of practising upon the Passions and Credulity of the Queen; and the Method of corresponding with him had been settled some Time before. I was fully apprized of all this; yet I resolved to try, if by being easy and quiet I could regain any INFLUENCE with her Majesty. She had given me some Encouragement to hope it; For when, a little before Mr. Harley's Dis-

* When Mr. Harley was dismissed; Sir Simon Harcourt, Henry St. John, Esq, and Sir Thomas Mansel resign'd their respective Employes.

mission,

mission, Lord *Marlborough* resolved to quit the Service, and when on that Occasion I had with *Tears* (which a tender Concern at the Thought of parting from her Majesty made me shed) represented to her, that if the Duke retired, it would be improper and even impossible for me to stay at Court after him, she declared that she could not bear the Thought of my leaving her, and that it must never be. And at that Time she made me a Promise that if ever I should leave her, (which she again said must never be) she would bestow my Offices among my Children.

Here again is a new Instance, that the Queen was neither Mistress of her own Power, nor at liberty to make Choice of her own Friends : It was Mr. *Harley's* Crime, his only Crime, as far as appears, to have deserved her Confidence, by an Attachment to Truth only, in Defiance of the Junto, and their Omnipotence : He was, therefore, to be torn from her Side at all Events ; and her Majesty must not dare to protect him, for fear of disobliging the *Marlborough*-Family.

Well, to appease their Wrath, and bring them back to their Duty, he is dismif's'd: But still this was **NOTHING**. . . It was done, it seems with his *own Consent*, in compliment to his *own Advice*, not in blind Obedience to the Will of the said *Marlborough-Family*: And the Queen found a *Pretence* to be still in the Way of those *Practices*, which they had such dreadful Apprehensions of.

Thus, tho' Mr. *Harley* made himself a voluntary Sacrifice to the Peace of the Court, and her Majesty condescended to see him not as a Minister but a Friend, the Jealousy still continued as strong against him as ever; and it is even stated as a Crime, that she ever saw him at all.

As to the Tears you are pleased to mention, I shall take as much notice of them as they seem to deserve; we are told from the Stage, *That even Butchers weep.*

It is very remarkable, Madam, that, notwithstanding all you are pleased to say of the *Practices* of Mr. *Harley*, you never once hint the Affair of Mr. *Greg*, one of the

Clerks in his Office, who was executed for a treasonable Correspondence with *France*: I say, Madam, your Silence upon this Head is very remarkable; since no Endeavours were, at *that Time*, wanting to persuade her Majesty, that the Secretary was, to the full, as guilty as his Clerk; and since Bp. *Burnet*, tho', in relating this Incident, he does not, in express Terms, charge *Greg's* Treason upon Mr. *Harley*, yet couples it with a second Story of certain other Persons employed and protected by that Gentleman, who were at the same Juncture taken up for giving Intelligence to the *French*; and leads, if not directs the Reader to make Conclusions to his Disadvantage.

A Brief of *Greg's* Affair in particular, as drawn from the noble Authority before quoted in the Case of the Lord *Peterborough*, is as follows.

He, Mr. *Harley*, had *himself* entertain'd a Suspicion that one of the Clerks of his Office held a treasonable Correspondence with the Enemy, and in order to discover it, he writ to the Post-master on the other Side

to send him back a certain Packet of Letters, wherein he found a Letter of this Clerk's written to a Minister of State in *France*; he first acquainted her Majesty *alone* with it, and then appointed a Committee of Council to meet at his Office, sent for the Clerk, and then surpriz'd him at once by producing and reading the Letter before his Face; the Clerk was committed, arraign'd, pleaded guilty, and was executed for the Treason.

The Party us'd all their Endeavours, and had their Creatures, in public Conversation, to make the World believe, that the Secretary himself was privy to this traitorous Correspondence; Seven Lords were deputed from that House to examine the Clerk in Prison, and 'tis remarkable, that they were all of *one Side*. Surely they that knew the Manner in which the Secretary surpriz'd him, must believe in their Consciences, that no Man durst treat a Person with such a Severity, if he knew it to be in the Criminal's Power to accuse his Accuser.

But the Secretary's Innocence was amply vindicated, when the Clerk, (*Greg*) at his

EXECUTION, delivered a * Paper to the
Ordinary

* The Crime I am now justly to suffer for, having made a great Noise in the World, a Paper of more than ordinary Length will be expected from the Criminal; who therefore takes this last Opportunity, to profess his utter Abhorrence, and sincere Repentance of all his Sins against God, and of all the heinous Crimes committed against the Queen, whose Forgiveness I most heartily implore, as I shall heartily pray for her Majesty's long Life and happy Reign over her united People, and Success against her Enemies, with my parting Breath.

This is all the Satisfaction I can possibly make injur'd Majesty. I declare in the next Place, the Reparation I would make, were it in my Power, to those of her Majesty's Subjects I have wronged, in any Kind; and particularly the Right Honourable *Robert Harley, Esq;* whose Pardon I heartily beg for basely betraying my Trust: Which Declaration, though of itself sufficient to clear the said Gentleman, yet for the Sake of those, whom it was my Misfortune not to be able to satisfy in my Lifetime, I do sacredly protest, that, as I shall answer it before the Judgment-Seat of *CHRIST*, the Gentleman aforesaid was *not privy* to my writing to *France*, directly nor indirectly; neither I, his unworthy Clerk, anyways accessary to the Miscarriage before *Thoulon*, nor the Losses by Sea, all which happened before the first of my Letters, which was writ the 24th of *October 1707*. As for my Creditors, as I am in no Condition to satisfy them, so I earnestly beg they would forgive me; and I pray God to make up their Losses seven-fold.

For my Part, I do freely forgive all Men, and die in perfect Charity with them, not without humble Hopes of finding Forgiveness, through the Merits of Jesus Christ, with God; who in Mercy touched my Conscience so powerfully from the Beginning, as to prevent my prostituting the same to save my Life: For which Instance

Ordinary of Newgate, declaring, That his Master was wholly ignorant of this treasonable Correspondence, till he made the Discovery himself, and thank'd GOD that he

Instance of his Love, to be preferred before Life itself, I bless and magnify his holy Name with unspeakable Joy and Comfort at my Death, nothing near so ignominious as would have been such a Life.

After this Confession, the Duty of a dying Man leads me to profess the Religion in which I was brought up, and do now die, which is the Protestant; the Scandal given thereunto by my enormous Practices, can't be better taken away, than by my publishing to the World, my hearty Sorrow for those sensual Pleasures which have proved my Bane: Therefore let all, who shall read this poor Paper, take Warning by me, to shun the like youthful Lusts; to which, whoever gives up himself, can't tell how far they may, when indulg'd, carry him, even to the committing such Crimes as he thought himself incapable of some time a day; of which Truth, I, to my woeful Experience, am a melancholy Instance. But, at the same time, I appeal to the great God, before whom I am going to appear, that, notwithstanding all the Pains taken to make me out an old Offender, by fastening on me the Crime of counterfeiting the Coin, this is the first Fault that ever I ventured upon; which was not out of any Zeal for the Pretender, whom I not only disown at my Death, but solemnly declare, that in all my Life, I never thought he had a Right to these Realms, how foolishly soever I may have rendered myself obnoxious in this Particular; but the only Motive of my mad Undertaking was MONEY (of which I never received any) on account of the Ship-Pass, though I have met with the more just Reward of such secret Services, intended by

William Gregg.

gave him the Grace not to do so *vile an Action* for the saving his own Life, as some would have put him upon: But the Ordinary was not permitted to publish this Paper, (as is usual) and so it was suppress'd for a Time, till Care was taken to print it from a Copy that had been given to another Hand, and then *Paul Lorrain* got Leave to publish it also.

I have been the larger in this Narrative, that all well-meaning *Whigs* may be truly inform'd, that tho' themselves and their Principles abhor such Practices, yet there are great Men among their Leaders that stick at nothing that they think will serve their own Interests, and destroy those they hate; and the same Men that could so lately both accuse and acquit the Faulty in one Breath, (as will be explain'd farther on) were now as ready to attempt the Ruin of their Enemy by Subornation, and to stifle and suppress so clear a Vindication of his Innocence.

Nor is it less worthy the Notice of the *Whigs*, that this very Gentleman who has been rendered so odious in their Esteem, if his Conduct

Conduct shall be impartially considered, it will be found, that his Actions have shewn him much more a Patriot and a true *Whig*, than his Adversaries.

"Twas their deserting the true Interest of their Country, and running into and supporting all the Mismanagements of the late Reign, that made him join with those called *Tories* (tho' I am sure they deserv'd the good Opinion of all true *Englishmen* in those Occasions) to rescue the Nation from the Rav pine of that corrupt Ministry: And, as St. *Paul*, became *all* unto *all*, that he might gain *some*; if this Gentleman has employ'd the Dexterity of which he is so great a Master, to draw off the best Men of that Party from the Extreme which they had formerly fall'n into, and to win them into the true Interest of the Nation, his Voting with them, pleasing them, and gaining their good Opinion in order to good Ends, are so far from Faults, that they deserve the highest Applause, and both Parties ought to look upon him as the happy Instrument that is content to sacrifice his own Ease, to pass through

good

good Report and bad Report, and to labour constantly to destroy FACTION, and to reconcile the *honest Men of all sorts*, who really design the Good of their Country.

It is most certain, that very extraordinary Practices were tried upon Gregg, both by Hopes and Fears, with all of which the Queen was punctually inform'd; and they did not fail to create in her Majesty both Astonishment and Detestation, equal to the Baseness and Villainy of those who were at the Bottom of so infamous a Conspiracy.

I call it a Conspiracy, because it was not upon Gregg only that these Experiments were made; but on those other Persons mentioned by Bishop Burnet, who were taken up for betraying Secrets they were never trusted with; and who were indeed retained by Mr. Harley, in Virtue of his Office, as Spies upon the Enemy.

Nor ought it to be forgot, that the very Persons who tempted Gregg so many various Ways to involve Mr. Harley in his Guilt, and who consequently would have enforced his Evidence to the utmost, in Case it had

tally'd with their Designs, when defeated, immediately set themselves to deprete the Words of a dying Man, on the Instant of being out of the Reach of any Rewards or Punishments which Ministers or Courts could inflict or bestow.

Of which notorious Partiality, Madam, the Queen was often pleased to express herself to this Effect.

It is extremely surprizing, that the Man should not deserve Credit, now he has acquitted Mr. Harley, when his Evidence would have been built upon if he had accused him : And that he should be thought to DIE with a Lye in his Mouth, when his Veracity would have been held unquestionable, if he had LIV'D.

But, to put Mr. Harley's Innocence, and the Malice of his Enemies out of all Doubt : It was owing to Mr. Harley's Address, that Gregg was prevailed upon to make the very Confession which hang'd him : So that, having been the Instrument of his Condemnation, if Gregg could have accepted of Life upon such vile Terms, he had a Provocation

* that,

that, with many Men, would have been held sufficient Cause for so doing.

But *Gregg*, tho' a Traitor, would not be a Murderer. What they were who endeavoured to make him so, must be left to the great Searcher of Hearts, before whom none can prevaricate, and from whose Sentence there lies no Appeal.

Gregg was executed, Mr. *Harley* was justified, and the *Cabal* was defeated: Notwithstanding which their Tools were enjoin'd to go on to blacken him by all the Artifices imaginable; and many Writings from that Quarter are still forthcoming, wherein he is aspersed with being concerned with *Gregg*, tho' not a Tittle ever appeared that could justify the least Suspicion.

We are now, Madam, to cast an Eye on the Session of Parliament which began November 6. and not with so favourable an Aspect to the *Three Managers*, as they had Reason to expect. For tho' the Whigs had a Secretary after their own Hearts, they were as jealous, uneasy, and importunate, as ever. The House of Peers, at the Instance of the

Lords

Lords *Wharton* and *Sommers*, put off the Address till the State of the Nation had been examined into, which they set forth in their Speeches to be most miserable. The Sheriffs of *London*, accompanied with above two hundred Merchants, presented a Petition, complaining of their insupportable Losses. The Debate on the Occasion, which was pretty vehement, ended in an Expedient to receive Proposals for the Revival of Trade ; and when it was over, the Duke of *Marlborough*, after some warm Expostulations with Lord *Wharton*, thought fit to call him off, with a Promise of the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*.

The House of Commons likewise, went upon the Miscarriages in the Conduct of the Fleet : Of which Transaction the following is the most favourable Account that can be given.

The House next thought fit to go upon the Business of Admiral *Whetstone's* convoying the *Russia* Fleet last Summer, and his Cruize before *Dunkirk* : This, with other Matters, took up a pretty deal of their Time, and

and brought the whole Concerns of the Navy under Consideration. Some Miscarriages, no doubt, there were, as well as Misfortunes; the Merchants were respectively examined touching their Complaints and Grievances, and the Prince's Council made their Replies and Vindication. Mr. *Heathcote*, Son of Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, and Mr. *Dawson*, *Russia*-Merchants, spoke very boldly, and stuck not to charge the Managers of the Navy with Fraud, Malice and Ignorance, which all bore hard on Admiral * *Churchill*. Several Members interrupting them, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Chairman of the Committee, desired them to go on. *Whetstone*, who commanded the *Russia*-Convoy, and rose to a Flag, from being Master of a small *Bristol* Ship, had a Character which seemed to be referred to by Mr. *Heathcote* and Mr. *Dawson*, in their Complaint of Fraud, Malice, and Igno-

* 'Tis remarkable, that in the Year 1629, this Admiral, then but a Captain, was voted by the House of Commons guilty of requiring and receiving Monies for Convoys; and being a Member, was committed to the Tower for the same, from whence he was discharged on acknowledging his Fault, &c.

rance. These Debates and Complaints ended in a Resolution, That for the better securing the Trade of this Kingdom, over and above the Ships of War for the Line of Battle, and the Convoys to remote Parts, a sufficient Number of Ships, afterwards settled at Four, be appointed to cruize in proper Stations.

The House, moreover, took the Affairs of *Spain* into their Consideration : And the extraordinary Proceedings thereon, I am enabled to give the following Summary of, by the great Hand twice before quoted.

The Mismanagement of our Affairs in *Spain* came to be enquir'd into in the House of Commons, and it was found, that tho' the Parliament had voted and provided for the maintaining of 28000 Men for the second Year's Operations in *Spain*, there were not actually 9000 of that Quota employ'd in that Country. This Business was brought on by the *Tory*-Party, who press'd hard, that the House should prepare an Address to the Queen, roundly to represent this fatal Mis-carriage, and to pray her Majesty to lay before

fore them the Occasion of it. The Court *Whigs* knew then no better but that 'twas their Business to stand by the Ministers in *every Thing*, and therefore they labour'd to mitigate the Matter, and that the Address might only be, to *pray* that due Care might be taken to prevent the *like Faults* for the *future*. They speech'd it out till late, and struggled hard to get the Debate adjourn'd for some further Time, which at last they carried but by nine Votes; (for it must be noted, that there have always been some of the true old *Whigs* that will not baulk their Principle to vote through thick and thin, like the Moderns in such notorious Cases:) But after all it appeared, that the *Mercenaries* had fought this Battel on the wrong Side for Want of their *Orders*; the *Whig Junto*, or Managers, wanted, at this Time, so fair an Opportunity to bite the Ministers, and force them into a *Compliance* with what they had been long bargaining for, and therefore directed all their *Creatures*, by all means, to let the Address pass as smart as the *Tories*

Z 2 , would

would have it ; so when this Debate came on again, the Warriours were grown as tame as Lambs, and the Addrefs went without any more than a little faint, shewish Opposition.

The Ministers were frighten'd out of their Wits ; here was a Gap opened that led into a Discovery of all the foul Play that had been acted in the *Spanish-Affairs* ; they fly to the *Junto* ; sue to them for *Peace* ; promise every thing, if they will but help them out of this *Plunge*. An Answer to the Addref is trimm'd up (in the Queen's Name) to palliate, as much as possible, but too narrow to hide the Miscarriage from any one that was not willing to be blind to it, and the Nation is told plainly, that one *Third* of our Army has always been allowed for Officers Servants; (a fine Cheat for *Whigs* to countenance or acquiesce in.) However the *Junto* had gain'd their Point, and now the Party in the House were to let this pass for Satisfaction, and so the Ministers were brought off from this Difficulty.

Thus

Thus the same Men who at first set themselves, with all their Might, to defend the Ministers in a Matter wherein the Nation had been notoriously abus'd, presently, when they are bid, leap over the Stick *the other Way*, and join in a *Complaint* against the *same* Ministers for the *same* Fault, and then, at the Word of Command, *leap back again*, as you were ; all's well done, No-body to be blam'd.

How mean an Opinion would the honest *Whigs* through the Nation have of the Men they put their Confidence in, if they saw how little Regard they had to the true Interests of their Country, and how easy they are to betray it to serve a Turn ?

The same ductile House of Commons, likewise dispatched the Supplies, amounting almost to six Millions, as fast as they were demanded ; and join'd with the Lords to address the Queen not to consent to a Peace till *Spain* was restored to the House of *Austria* ; which, together with certain Addresses occasioned by the Invasion then impending

from France in Behalf of the Pretender, completed the Business of the Session.

But, before we turn our Backs upon it entirely, it is necessary to take Notice of a home Passage in your Grace's Account, which reflects on the Queen's Sincerity, as follows:

' The Pretender's Attempt to land in Scotland, which happened about this Time, gave her an Alarm, that seemed to bring a Conviction along with it, *that the Whigs were the most to be depended upon for the SUPPORT of her Government*; at least what she said in her * Answer to the Lords Address, upon the Occasion, had this Appearance. But as the Danger presently blew over, and as her Fears ceased with the Cause of them, so all the Hope, which the Whigs had raised in themselves from those Fears, presently vanished.'

* The Answer, or at least that Part of it which is here referred to, was conceiv'd in the following Terms;

As I cannot but wish there was not the least Occasion of Distinction among my Subjects, so I must always place my Dependence on those who have given such repeated Proofs of the greatest Warmth and Concern for the Support of the Revolution, Security of my Person, and of the Protestant Succession.

I believe, Madam, after Mr. *Harley* was dismissed, and Mr. *Boyle* † appointed Secretary in his Stead, no Person can consider her Ma-jesty as any more than the Mouth, Hand, or Instrument of the Faction who had her in Possession, and who obliged her to say and do what they pleased.

Consequently the Answer, which is here referred to as an Indication of her Majesty's being convinc'd that she ought to depend upon the Whigs, must be look'd upon as containing the Sentiments of her *Dictators* only, not her own: And whoever recollects the noble Transactions of the last Session, between the Ministers and the Whig-Leaders, cannot avoid concluding with me, that this Declaration in favour of that Party, was ei-ther calculated by the first, to make them believe that their Interests would from hence-forward be inseparable, or was exacted by the last, in Acknowledgment of their very seasonable and important Services.

† Afterwards Lord *Carlton*.

When, therefore, her Majesty had a Minute's Liberty to breathe freely, and, in Consequence, presum'd to understand the Word SUPPORT to belong rather to her Ministers than herself, let her not be reproached with retracting, when in Safety, what was said for her when supposed to be in Danger.

This Summer was, abroad, distinguished by the Victory obtain'd at Oudenarde, which, tho' both glorious and advantageous to the Allies, was not so decisive as either that of Blenheim or Ramellies, the French making good their Retreat, and repelling all the Attempts that were made to put them into Confusion.

The Siege of Lisle, one of the strongest Places in the World, was next undertaken by the confederate Generals, in the Sight of an Army superior to their own; which had posted themselves so advantageously, as to cut off all Communication between the Besiegers and Brussels; whereby Ammunition of all Sorts began to fail; and the Consequences might have been greatly calamitous,

tous,

tous, if General *Webb* had not, with incredible Conduct and Bravery, both covered the grand Convoy committed to his Charge, and with a Party of but 6000, defeated an Army of between 23, and 24,000, which had been detached to make sure of a Supply which was of such immediate Importance to the Confederates.

But the Merit of this gallant Action was by Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke of Marlborough's Secretary, ascribed solely to Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, (his Grace's Favourite) who did not come up till it was entirely over, and the Enemy retreating in Disorder; without the least Mention of Mr. *Webb*, who thereupon quitted the Army in Disgust, and very frankly set forth the Injury which had been done him, both to the Queen and the whole Nation.

In this Interval the Elector of *Bavaria* invested *Brussels*, but was kept at Bay by the Governor and Garrison, till the Confederates passed the *Scheld* to their Relief: Upon which he abandoned the Siege in Confusion,

fusion, leaving his Artillery and wounded Men behind him.

The Town of *Lille* had already capitulated, and now the Citadel did the same. And the Reduction of *Ghent*, which had been before betrayed to the *French*, finished the Campaign on that Side.

In *Spain* the Duke of *Orleans* reduced *Tortosa*, *Denin* and *Alicant*: But to counteract these Advantages, Sir *John Leake* conquered *Sardinia*, and General *Stanhope* *Minorca*: And in the *West-Indies* Commodore *Wager* had an Engagement with the *Spanish* Galleons, in which the Admiral blew up, another Galleon was run ashore, and the Rear-Admiral was taken; being mounted with 54 Brass-Guns, and her Lading of an immense Value.

These were the Martial Feats of the Year 1708, of which, as many as were conducted by the Duke of *Marlborough*, your Grace has thought worthy to be mentioned: Tho' manifestly with no other View, than to render the Queen odious for daring to act independent

pendent of a Person, who, we are to understand, had conferred upon her so many, and such never-to-be-enough-acknowledged Obligations.

Her Majesty's Letter to the Duke on the Victory of Oudenarde, and his Grace's Reply, deserve particular Notice.

The Queen to the Duke.

• Windsor, July the 6th, 1708.

I want Words to express the Joy I have
 that you are well, after your glorious Suc-
 cess; for which, next to God Almighty,
 my Thanks are due to you. And indeed
 I can never say enough for all the great and
 faithful Services you have ever done me.
 But be so just as to believe, I am as truly
 sensible of them as a grateful Heart can be,
 and shall be ready to show it upon all Oc-
 casions. I hope you cannot doubt of my
 Esteem and Friendship for you, nor think
 that because I differ with you in some
 Things,

' *Things*, it is for want of either : No, I do
 assure you. If you were here, I am sure
 you would not think me so much in the
 wrong in *some Things*, as I FEAR you do
 now. I am *afraid* my Letter should come
 too late to *London*, and therefore *dare* say
 no more, but that I pray God Almighty
 to continue his Protection over you, and
 send you safe home again. And be assured
 I shall ever be sincerely your

HUMBLE SERVANT.

So perfect was her Majesty now become
 in the Lesson of *Acknowledgments*, and so
 humbled to the Yoke ! Leave to *differ* from
 his Grace in *some Things* being all she dar'd
 to aspire to. And the SOVEREIGN being
 to call Intents and Purposes sunk in the
HUMBLE SERVANT! The

The Duke to the Queen:

July 23. 1708.

MADAM,

I have the Honour of your Majesty's
Letter of the 6th, and am very thankful for
all your Goodness to me. And I am sure
it will always be my Intention, as well as
Duty to be ready to venture my Life for
your Service.

As I have formerly told your Majesty
that I am desirous to serve you in the Ar-
my, but not as a Minister, I am every Day
more and more confirmed in that Opinion.
And I think myself obliged upon all Ac-
counts, on this Occasion, to speak my Mind
freely to you. The Circumstances in this
Battle, I think, shew the Hand of God;
for we were obliged not only to march
five Leagues that Morning, but to pass a
River before the Enemy, and to engage
them before the whole Army was passed,
which was a visible Mark of the Favour
of Heaven to you and your Arms.

Your

Your Majesty shall be convinced from
 this Time, that I have no Ambition, or
 any Thing to ask for myself or Family.
 But I will end the few Years which I
 have to live in endeavouring to serve you,
 and to give God Almighty Thanks for
 his infinite Goodness to me. But as I
 have taken this Resolution to myself, give
 me Leave to say, that I think You are
 obliged in Conscience, and as a good Chris-
 tian, to forgive, and to have no more
 Resentments to any particular Person or
 Party, but to make use of such as will
 carry on this just War with Vigor; which
 is the only way to preserve our Religion
 and Liberties, and the CROWN ON YOUR
 HEAD. Which that you may long enjoy,
 and be a Blessing to your People, shall be
 the constant Wish and Prayer of him that
 is with the greatest Truth and Duty,

Madam, &c.

Within seventeen Days his Grace finds
 Leisure to honour her Majesty with this DE-

YOUT PIECE by way of answer : in which he passes over the Queen's extraordinary Condescensions with all possible Expedition, and after expressing some Discontent, and as much Piety and Self-abasement as would serve a primitive Bishop ; concludes with urging the old Point of the War, in such Terms, as I believe were never used to a Monarch before. *To carry on the War is the only Way to preserve the Crown on your Head.*

Why ? who should deprive her of it in case she did not ? Not the Tories. It was imputed to them as a Crime, that they desired to see the Queen established in Peace ; and to serve her upon that Condition : not the Arms of France ; for Peace would likewise put an end to all Apprehensions from that Quarter. If therefore her Majesty had any real Danger to fear, it must have been from some lurking Enemy unsuspected and unknown : And if none, why was any such Phantom raised to keep her in a State of Uneasiness and Terror ?

We

We are now to return to your Grace,
 But now, what was very strange, the
 Successes of my Lord Marlborough this Year
 seemed rather to lower his Credit with her
 Majesty, than to raise it; a Thing so ex-
 tremely out of the common Course of Na-
 ture, that no one, I think, can doubt of
 its being the pure Effect of Art, the Pro-
 duct of that wonderful Talent Mr. Harley
 possessed, in the supreme Degree, of con-
 founding the common Sense of Mankind.

It must be allowed, Madam, that you are mighty smart on poor Mr. Harley in this Passage; and 'tis happy for your Readers that this wonderful Knack or Talent of his hath not descended to your Grace:

However, if none but my Lord *Marl-*
borough and his Dependents were the better
 for his Successes, if his Power and Influence,
 both Abroad and at Home, grew more and
 more formidable thereby, and if those Suc-
 cesses were perpetually made matter of In-
 sult to her Majesty, in my humble Opinion,
 nothing could be more natural, than for the
 Queen to look even with a jealous Eye on a

Bulk

Bulk of Greatness that almost edged her out of the Throne: And there was nothing of the Marvellous in Mr. *Harley's* inducing her either to think or act in such a Manner, as might enable her, according to the vulgar Phrase, *to hold her own.*

' The Duke was perfectly sensible of the
 ' Change in her Majesty towards him, and
 ' having complained of it in a Letter to me,
 ' I sent this Letter to her, inclosed in the
 ' following one from myself.

' I cannot help sending your Majesty
 ' this Letter, to shew how exactly Lord
 ' *Marlborough* agrees with me in my Opin-
 ' ion, that he has now no Interest with
 ' you: Though when I said so in the
 ' Church on * *Thursday*, you were *pleased*
 ' to say it was *untrue*. And yet I think HE
 ' will be surprized to hear that when I had
 ' taken so MUCH PAINS to put your
 ' Jewels in a Way that I thought you
 ' would like, Mrs. *Masham* could make
 ' you refuse to wear them, in so *unkind*
 ' a Manner; because that was a *Power*
 ' she had not thought fit to exercise be-

* 9 Aug. 1708.

fore. I will make no Reflections upon it; only that I must needs observe, that your Majesty chose a very wrong Day to mortify me, when you were just going to return THANKS for a VICTORY obtained by Lord MARLBOROUGH.

In answer to this, her Majesty was pleased to write to me these few Words.

Sunday.

After the Commands you gave me on the Thanksgiving Day of not answering you, I should not have troubled you with these Lines, but to return the Duke of Marlborough's Letter safe into your Hands, and for the same Reason do not enclose it.

Upon receiving so extraordinary a Letter, I could not avoid writing again as follows.

I should not trouble your Majesty with many Answer to your last short Letter, but to explain what you seem to mistake in what I said at Church. I desired you not to answer me there, for fear of being overheard. And this you interpret as if I had desired you not to answer me at all

which

which was far from my Intention. For
 the whole End of my writing to You so
 often, was to get your Answer to several
 Things in which we differed, that if I
 was in the wrong, You might convince
 me of it, and I should very readily have
 owned my Mistakes. But since You have
 not been pleased to show them to me, I
 flatter myself that I have said several
 Things to You that are *unanswerable*. And
 I hope some Time or other You will find
 Leisure to reflect upon them, and will
 convince Lord Marlborough, that he is
 mistaken in thinking that he has no *Credit*
 with You, by hearkening sometimes to
 his *Advice*; and then I hope You will
 never more be troubled with *disagreeable*
 Letters from me: For I should be much
 better pleased to say and do every Thing
 You like. But I should think myself
 wanting in my Duty to You, if I saw You
 so much in the *Wrong*, also without Pre-
 judice or Passion, I really think You are
 in several *Particulars* I have mentioned,
 and did not tell you of it. And the
 rather, because no Body else cares to speak

out upon so ungrateful a Subject. The Word *Command*, which You use at the Beginning of your Letter, is very unfitly supposed to come from me. For though I have always writ to You as a FRIEND, and lived with You as such for so many Years with all the Truth and Honesty, and Zeal for your Service that was possible, yet I shall never forget that I am your Subject, nor cease to be a faithful one.

As my professed Design is to rescue the Queen out of your Grace's Hand, I cannot help expressing my Obligations to you for the Assistance I receive from the very Materials you have made publick with a Design to leave her without Excuse.

And, had I no other Proof or Evidence of the Affronts her Majesty was continually expos'd to, than the unparallel'd Letter, above, relating to the Jewels, I should need no other. In a few Lines, she is there threaten'd with a Complaint to Lord Marlborough; upbraided with the Pains you had taken to please her; called to Account for preferring Mrs. Masham's Fancy to yours;

and insulted with my Lord Marlborough's Triumphs, obtained in Virtue of his being honoured with the Command of her Majesty's Troops, and for which he had received such Rewards as no Subject had ever received before.

To be plain with your Grace: There is an Air of Outrage in this Letter that no Severity of Terms can sufficiently expose, or correct: 'Tis impossible to read it without Indignation, or to speak of it without a Bitterness, which, tho' familiar to your own Pen, would, perhaps, be thought inexcusable from mine.

But neither is this all; because her Majesty will not follow you thro' the Thorns and Briars of Controversy, but leaves you in Possession of the last Word, you modestly conclude what you have advanced to be answerable; give her to understand that to be delivered from your disagreeable Letters, she must be governed by Lord Marlborough's Advice: That you think it your Duty to tell her when she is so much in the *Wrong*; and lastly, That, tho' a Friend, you should never forget you were her Subject, &c. which may be truly called a Word in Season;

for, by the Changes rung upon the Words
You and I, and I and You, I am subject to
believe it was a Recollection your Grace had
not made for many a Year before.

If, therefore, her Majesty was thus treated
while living, it is scarce to be wondered that
the two following Paragraphs should be
added to blacken her Memory.

Through the whole Summer after Mr.
Harley's Dismission, the Queen continued
to have *secret* Correspondence with him.
And that this might be the better managed,
she staid all the sultry Season, even when
the Prince was *panting for Breath*, in that
small House, she had formerly purchased
at *Windfor*, which, though as hot as an
Oven, was then said to be *cold*, because from
the Park such Persons, as Mrs. *Masham* had
a Mind to bring to her Majesty, could be
let *privately* by the Garden.

And when upon the Death of the
Prince, one would have thought that her
Majesty's real Grief would have made her
avoid every Place and every Object that
might sensibly revive the Remembrance of
her Loss, she chose for her Place of Re-

tirement his *Closet*, and for some Weeks,
spent many *Hours* in it every Day. I was
amazed at this; and when I spoke to her
of it, she seemed surprized, just like a
Person who on a sudden becomes sensible
of her having done something she would
not have done, had she duly considered. But
the true Reason of her Majesty's chusing
this Closet to sit in, was, that the *Back-*
Stairs belonging to it came from Mrs.
Masham's Lodgings, who by that Means
could secretly bring to her whom she
pleased.

The Queen, it seems, said the House at *Windsor* was cool; your Grace affirms it was hot as an Oven: I will not insist on any Compliment to her Majesty on this Occasion; your Grace shall have it your own Way: And what is the natural Consequence? Surely, not that the Queen had no Tenderness or Concern for her dying Husband: You yourself are obliged to call her Grief *real*: But that she was drove to such terrible Distresses by her Dictators, that she chose to undergo any additional Extremities in the bare Hope or Prospect of a Deliverance.

During these Transactions the late Whig-Parliament having sat its Time, underwent a Dissolution ; and Writs were issued for the calling a new one.

I need not inform you, Madam, that a general Election is the Seed-time of Parties, and that as they sow, they reap. It is, however, necessary to insert a very remarkable Particular, omitted, upon this Occasion, by your Grace.

As the Whig-Junto, or Managers, on the Merit of their Services in the first Session of the last Parliament, had insisted on the carrying one Secretary of State, and the discarding another ; so now, being still dissatisfied, they resolved to take Advantage of the Crisis, to enlarge their Scheme, by supplanting the ~~Set~~, on whom they had as yet depended, in order to reign in their Stead.

On Occasion of the late Invasion from France, certain Persons of Quality and Interest in Scotland, to the Number of 22, had been taken up on Suspicion, and brought publicly, in a Sort of Triumph, to London : A Proceeding which had greatly irritated the Jacobite Party ; and not without Cause, since nothing could be alledged against them. This

This ill Humour of their's tally'd exactly with the present Scheme of the Whigs; who flattered themselves, that, by a Junction of Interests, they might be able to carry a Majority in the ensuing Parliament; and, thereby have the Ministers at their Mercy. Accordingly the Affair was moved to the Jacobite-Leaders, who came into it with all their Hearts; and each Party depending upon the Strength of the other, took it for granted that the Coalition would be found irresistible.

Having thus adjusted the Plan of their mighty Scheme, they began forthwith to put it in Execution: The Jacobites set out to open the Campaign in *Scotland*, and their faithful Friends and Allies, the Whigs, at the same Instant, prepared to do the same in *England*.

It was now, your Grace must well remember, that the Press began first to groan with Invectives; broad, open Invectives against those in Power: It was said the Treasurer, the General, and *one more*, engrossed the whole Management of Affairs, invested the Queen, and rendered her Majesty inaccessible, except through their Means; made

them-

themselves the Eyes, Ears and Mouth, by which she saw, heard, or spoke; and, in short, had the whole Disposal of all Things in their Hands; that they boasted of having the National Credit at their sole Command; that by the immense Sums they had amassed of their own, which they put out to Use in the very Service in which they were acquired, they possessed the Funds, and governed the Wealth of the whole Nation; that they accumulated vast Profits by Places, Preferments and innumerable Salaries (+ Lists of

+ A short Computation of the Annual Income of a certain GREAT MAN since the Beginning of the War.

Written in the Year 1704.	Per Ann.
Plenipotentiary to the States,	L. 7,000
Gen. for the Eng. Forces on Mr. How's Establishment	5,000
General in Flanders on Mr. Bridg's Establishment,	5,000
Master of the Ordnance,	3,000
Travelling Charges, as Master of the Ordnance	1,825
Colonel of the Foot-Guards, being 24 Companies	2,000
Pension,	5,000
From the States-General, as Gen. of their Forces,	10,000
From the Foreign Troops in English Pay, at 6d. per L. as per Warrant,	15,000
For keeping a Table,	1,000
	L. 54,825

His LADY's Income.	Per Ann.
Keeper of the Great and Home Parks,	L. 1,500
Mistress of the Robes,	1,500
Privy Purse,	1,500
Groom of the Stole,	3,000
A Pension out of the Privy Purse,	2,000
	L. 9,500
	The

which were then for the first Time printed;) that the whole Nation seem'd to be the Perquisite of one Family; and that they were in a fair Way to be too mighty for the whole Nation, if ever an Opportunity offered, answerable to their immeasurable Ambition.

This, Madam, was the Language of the Times, which was circulated by the leading Whigs in *England*, and which was echoed by their Associates in *Scotland*.

It is natural to think therefore, on your Grace's Principles, that such a Train of Opposition could not have been formed, but one of the grand Enemies, Lord Rochester, or Mr. Harley, must have been either at the laying, or giving Fire to it: These were the Persons principally apprehended; and when these were removed, their Dictators believ'd they had no more to fear.

But, alas! nothing can be wider of the Truth. The States-General, on the Battle of Blenheim, presented a Bank-Bill of 50,000*l.* besides Presents from Germany and Flanders, from Officers and others for Employments, and the Profits on Exchange of Money, and by Safeguards, &c. &c.

The Estate of Woodstock is not reckon'd, because it cannot be yet known what it will cost to build and furnish a Palace there.

The Emperor gave this Year to the Value of 50,000*l.* besides what was presented by the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and other Courts.

Truth. The capital Incendiary was no other than the very Man, who the Whig-Junto had so warmly recommended, and whose Interest your Grace had so zealously espoused, to be Secretary in stead of Sir *Charles Hedges*; I mean my Lord *Sunderland*, your Son-in-law; who, having observed that the Queen had been constrained to part with Mr. *Harley*, whether she would or no, resolved to improve upon the Hint, and oblige her to act in all Things as the new Confederacy pleased; which is undeniably prov'd from his Letter to the D. of *Roxburgh*, while the general Election was yet depending; in which are the following remarkable Expressions.

'I would not have you be bully'd by the Court-Party, for the QUEEN herself can't not support that FACTION long.'

A Proceeding of this extraordinary Nature, as it is easy to imagine, could not be concealed from the Queen: The Ministry saw very clearly, that to engage her to make it her own Quarrel, would be the most effectual Method to preserve themselves: But tho' her Majesty gave into their Views, with as much Ardour as they themselves could wish,

wish, as thinking it a Matter of the last Consequence to convince the World that she was able to protect her Servants from the Intrigues of any Cabal whatever ; she could not help bringing her Reflections home ; she could not help perceiving, from this Incident, the whole Misery of her present Situation, and what a Lesson she had taught the rest of her Subjects, by placing a blind Confidence in one.

The Royal Influence, Authority and Resentment being thus thrown into the Scale of the Ministers, it became infinitely too weighty for that of their Opponents : The Elections in *England* were carried by a large Majority in their Favour ; and in *Scotland*, tho' the Enemy had undertaken for two Plumb Lists of Lords and Commons, they could return no more than Five of the first, and Eleven of the last.

The Whig-Junto now finding that they had reckoned without their Host, and that their Opposition was like to hurt no Body but themselves, more politiely than generously deserted their new Friends, without giving them any previous Notice, and struck

up a separate Peace with their Adversaries on very advantageous Terms to themselves ; Lord *Sunderland* being continued Secretary, Lord *Wharton* made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Lord *Somers* Lord President of the Council.

Whence we may learn, that the Expedient of abandoning Allies, was not first practised at the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

But tho' the Fire was thus happily extinguished, many dark and ugly Scenes had been discovered by the Light of it. As neither Party was innocent, Reproaches from one Side drew on Replies from the other ; so that both, in the End, were so equally and entirely covered with Dirt, that it was difficult to know which was which.

Of all this the Queen was both a just and curious Observer ; and it made no small Impressions on her Mind, that she found both Sides were to make a Property of her Authority ; that she was reduced to a *Necessity* of acting as she was directed ; and that which ever triumph'd, she was sure to be a Captive still.

It was no wonder, therefore, that, from this

this Incident, she should become more convinced than ever of the Necessity of governing on Mr. Harley's Scheme ; not by any one Party, but the Wise and Honest of all.

To be told from time to time, as she had been, *I cannot serve your Majesty, unless such a one be removed, or unless such a one is gratified* : To have Councils broke up if but two Members were absent, as if they had a Monopoly of all the Sense, as well as all the Power of the Kingdom, were Affronts to her Authority she could no longer put up with ; and it was now she resolved in Earnest to set herself free.

I shall make no other Remark at present, on this extraordinary Step of Lord Sunderland's, than that it is one of those Articles which your Grace has not thought proper to make an Entry of : And which Bishop Burnet likewise, has slurred over, as what would do little Honour to the Managers of those Times.

His Words are these :

The Duke of Queenbury was made third Secretary of State ; he had no foreign Province assigned him, but Scotland was left to

‘ to his Management: The Dukes of *Ha-*
 ‘ *milton, Montross and Roxburgh* had set
 ‘ themselves in Opposition to his Power;
 ‘ and had carried many Elections against
 ‘ him: The Lord *Somers* and *Sunderland*
 ‘ SUPPORTED THEM, but could not pre-
 ‘ vail with the Lord Treasurer to bring them
 ‘ into an equal Share of the Administration;
 ‘ this had almost occasion’d a Quarrel, for
 ‘ the Whigs, tho’ they went on in Conjunc-
 ‘ tion with the Lord Treasurer, yet conti-
 ‘ nued still to be jealous of him.

What this most sagacious Prelate is pleased to call *almost a Breach* being made up, both Houses met for the Dispatch of Business *November 16*. Sir *Richard Onslow* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons; and their principal Transactions were as follow.

They condol’d with the Queen on the Death of her Royal Consort; they congratulated her on the Success of her Arms; they decided controverted Elections with a Partiality shameless beyond Example; they sent a Compliment of Thanks to the Duke of *Marlborough* at *Brussels*; they address’d
 the

the Queen to think of a second Marriage. They called for the Papers relating to *Greg's* Affair, with no very favourable Eye to Mr. *Harley*, but could bring them to confess nothing. They enabled the *Bank* to open Subscriptions for 2,201,071*l.* towards the Supply. They address'd the Queen to take care, that the Acknowledgment of her Title by *France*, the Removal of the Pretender out of the *French* Dominions, and the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, should be made Articles of the Treaty, then upon the Tapis. They approved the Conduct of the Government at the Time of the late Invasion ; and they granted a Supply of SEVEN MILLIONS.

While the Commons were thus busy in draining the Purses of the People, the Court of *France* employed *M. de Torcy*, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to negotiate a Peace at the *Hague* : and the *States* refusing to treat separately, the Negotiation was soon extended to the whole Confederacy.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townshend* were joint Plenipotentiaries in behalf of *Great Britain*; and Preliminaries, to the last

Degree mortifying on the Side of France, such as the restoring the whole Spanish Monarchy to K. Charles within two Months, as likewise the Netherlands, except Cambray and St. Omer's, several Places to the Empire, Savoy to the Duke, and Newfoundland to England, the demolishing of Dunkirk, the removing the Pretender ; no Suspension of Arms till the Article relating to the Spanish Monarchy was fulfilled, &c. &c.) were agreed upon. But, tho' the French King offer'd to ratify all but the last, which he refus'd, as depending on what was not in his Power, and tho' he offer'd to put certain other Towns into the Hands of the Allies as a Pledge of his Sincerity, as he would not swallow all, it was resolved to break off the Treaty, and proceed with the War, under the old Pretence, That his most Christian Majesty was not to be trusted.

French Faith, Madam, I never was, nor can be an Advocate for : But when it appears to be grafted on their Interest, their Devotion to the one will exact due Reverence to the other. And that it was then particularly their

their Interest to be honest, was evident not only from the State of *France*, at that Time deplorable beyond Expression ; but from the triumphant Circumstances of the *Marlborough-Family* (which had most at Heart the Prosecution of the War) at this Period elevated to the very Pinacle of all human Greatness : Victors over their Enemies, with a Parliament just chosen, entirely at their Devotion, exercising an almost-despotic Power over their Sovereign, and enabled by such immense Aids to carry their Conquests, one would think, almost to what Length they pleased.

It was apparently, therefore, the Interest of *France* at this Time, to treat fairly and perform punctually : and, for that Reason, there is Room to suspect that the Treaty was broken off, not for fear the *French* should violate their Faith, but for fear they should not ; as might be more clearly set forth, if Time would give Leave.

Be this as it may, the Land was not, as yet, to have Rest : The Campaign was open'd on all Sides, and once more the Fate

of Europe was left to the Decision of the Sword.

But little was done on the Rhine, as usual; the Portuguese ventured on an Engagement and were beaten. The Duke of Savoy gave the French no Disturbance in Dauphiny, because the Emperor refus'd to come up to the Price he had set upon his Services; and in Spain, when King Philip would have engaged Count Staremburg, the French General, Besons, produced his Master's Orders to avoid a Battle.

Thus the grand Issue was still left to be determin'd in Flanders, and the principal Strength of both Parties was station'd to dispute the Point accordingly,

While the French were expecting the Confederates to open the Campaign with the Siege of Ypres, they suddenly invested Tournay; and in the beginning of September, made themselves Masters of it. After which they undertook Mons; but were prevented from making any Progress in their Design, by the Arrival of the Marshals Villars and Boufflers; who possess'd themselves

selves of a Wood, and cover'd their Camp with Lines almost impenetrable; before a Resolution was taken to dislodge them. Mons was, however, thought worthy so desperate an Attempt ; and, to the Amazement of all military Critics, it was crown'd with Success: If it may be called Success, when the Victors are equal Sufferers with the Vanquished, which was the Case at Blaregnies. The Enemy, however, retired to Valenciennes, and Mons surrender'd in October; with which Exploit ended the Campaign.

At Sea nothing was done, or thought of, tho' the French had left it free and open to whatever Enterprizes we pleased to undertake ; but this was a Province which had been hitherto so ill managed, that Bishop Burnet seems to think this a notable Year, because our Convoys were well ordered, and our Merchants made no Complaints.

Thus one Year of GLORY more was brought to a Period; notwithstanding which the French were still in a Condition to make good their Frontier, and stand their Ground against us.

against the whole Confederacy, without any visible Inequality. So much at present for the Field.

'Tis time now to take up your Grace's Inventory of the Queen's secret Sins, in continuing to correspond with Mr. Harley, by the Means of Mrs. Masham, and by the Way of the Back Stairs; on which Occasion it is your Pleasure to proceed as follows.

' And that a Correspondence was thus carried on with Mr. Harley, became every Day more and more manifest by the Difficulties and Objections which her Majesty had learnt to raise against almost every Thing proposed by her Ministers. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. Harley and his Associates, when at length they had compassed their Designs, and got into the Management of Affairs, did often (both in their Cups and out of them) boast that they, while the Queen's Ministers were asleep, were frequently at Court giving Advice in Secret, how to perplex them in all their Measures.

But

But they were much mistaken, if they
 imagined that their Proceedings, at the
 Time I am speaking of, were so entirely
 covered. The Ministers were fully con-
 vinced of the Truth, and frequently re-
 presented to her Majesty, what a *Dis-*
couragement it was then to them in
 their Endeavours for her Service, to find
 that she had no *Confidence* in them, but
 was *influenced* by the *Counsel* of others
 who counterwork'd them in every Instance.
 Upon this Subject, I myself wrote and
 spoke a great deal to her with my usual
 Plainness and Zeal. But finding, not only
 that I could make no Impression on her
 in this Respect, but that her Change to-
 wards me in particular was every Day
 more and more apparent, I at length went
 to her, and beg'd to know what my Crime
 was, that had wrought in her so great
 an Alteration. This drew from the Queen
 a Letter, dated October 26. 1709. wherein
 she charges me with *Inveteracy* (as her
 Word is) *against poor Masham*, and with
 having nothing so much at Heart, as the

'Ruin of my Cousin. In speaking of the
 'Misunderstandings betwixt her Majesty
 'and me, She says, they are *for nothing*
 'as she knows of, but because she cannot see
 'with my Eyes, and hear with my Ears.
 'And adds, *That it is impossible for me*
 'to recover her former Kindness, but that
 'she shall behave herself to me, as the Duke
 'of Marlborough's Wife, and her Groom
 'of the Stole. This Declaration so plain
 'and express of her Majesty's thorough
 'Change towards me, was the more extra-
 'ordinary, as in this same Letter are these
 'Words, *You have asked me once or twice*
 'if you had committed any Fault that I was
 'so changed, and I told you, no ; because I
 'do not think it a Crime in any one not to
 'be of my Mind,
 Upon Receipt of this Letter, I imme-
 diately set myself to draw up a long Nar-
 rative of a Series of faithful Services for
 about 26 Years past ; of the great Sense
 the Queen formerly had of my Services ;
 of the great Favour I had been honoured
 with on Account of THEM ; of the Use
 I

I had made of that Favour ; and of my
 losing it now by the *Artifice* of my Ene-
 mies, and particularly of one, whom I had
 raised out of the *Dust*. And, knowing
 how great a *Respect* her Majesty had for
 the Writings of certain eminent *Divines*,
 I added to my Narrative, the Directions
 by the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*,
 with Relation to *Friendship*; the Direc-
 tions in the *Common Prayer-Book* before the
Communion with Regard to *Reconciliati-*
on, together with the Rules laid down by
 Bishop *Taylor* on the same *Head*; and I
 concluded with giving my Word to her Ma-
 jesty, that if after reading these, she would
 please only to answer in two Words, that
 she was still in the same Opinion, as when
 she wrote that *barsh Letter*, which occa-
 sion'd her this Trouble, I would never
 more give her the least Trouble upon any
 Subject, but the Business of my Office, as
 long as I should have the Honour to con-
 tinue her Servant; assuring her, that how-
 ever she might be changed towards me, and
 how much soever we might still differ in
 Opinion,

Opinion, I should eyet reme[n]ber that she
was my Mistress, and my Queen, and
should always pay her the Respect due from
a faithful Servant and dutifull Subject.

I sent from St. Albans this Narrative,
which she promised to read and answer.

And ten Day after, writing to me upon
another Occasion, she said she had not Lei-
sure yet to read all my Papers, but when
she had, she would send me some Answer.

But none ever came ; nor had my Papers
any apparent Effect on her Majesty, ex-
cept that, after my coming to Town, as she
was passing by me, in order to receive the
Communion, she looked with much good
Nature and very graciously smiled upon me.

But the Smile, and pleasant Look, I had
Reason afterwards to think were given to
Bishop Taylor and the Common Prayer-Book,
and not to me.

If Lady Wronghead had undertaken to ma-
nage Courts and write Memoirs, could she have
writ or managed more in Character than a
certain other Lady hath done ? Not to be con-
tent with such a Plentitude of Power ; but to

take Umbrage at a Closet-Rival, without any Power at all; to make it a Point to force her Majesty even to converse with none but the Marlborough-Family, and to tease her, without Intermission, on *a* Subject which must, of Necessity, make her uneasy as often as it was nam'd, was worthy the Head of the *Wronghead's*: But Passion and Policy are very rarely Companions; and, from the Time Mr. *Harley* became thus establish'd in the Queen's Confidence, one would think certain Persons had shook Hands with Common Sense for good, and Call'd Infatuated they certainly were; or else such veteran Courtiers could not have fallen into such amazing Errors; could not have given their Rivals such *flagrant* Opportunities to render the Queen's Passions and Affections subservient to their own, *quo non* *liberum* *coheret*. Indeed that Persons intoxicated with unlimited Power, and giddy with uninterrupted Success, should be impatient of Opposition; should think that Success entitled them to hold their Sovereign in Vassalage; and, in the first Hurry of their Resentments,

should

should be prompted to urge their Claims accordingly ; is both more natural and excusable than for one of the same Persons, at the Distance of above thirty Years, to represent her Royal Mistress as guilty of high Crimes and Misdemeanors against her Ministers ; and to reproach her for consulting those in secret, she was not permitted to see publicly, in common with the rest of her Subjects.

But I have enlarged more than enough on this Subject already : And to be decisive in my Turn ; it was beneath her Majesty to submit to such Difficulties ; and that she did, argues either that the *Marlborough-Family* was already grown too mighty for her ; or that her Spirit was more than half subdued to their Yoke. Had it been otherwise ; had she been *Queen indeed*, what Consideration could or ought to hinder her from exerting not her royal Prerogative, but the Privilege of every Individual in a free Choice of her own Friends ; especially as the State was entirely in the Hands of those, who alone were to be held qualified for so great a Trust ? Of what should deter her from

from dissolving a Friendship which was become ungrateful to her, without putting herself to the Trouble of a formal Eclaircissement, due only to Equals; and consequently not to be demanded on any Pretence whatever of the Queen of Great-Britain, by the — of —?

But this is not all: Tho' your Grace could sneer at the Word *Church* in the Mouth of Sir Edward Seymour and his Party, who made use of it as a Spell to draw down a Portion of royal Favour; you are not above making use of a like Artifice yourself, by pressing the *Whole Duty of Man*, the *Common Prayer*, and Bishop *Taylor*, as Auxiliaries into your Service; and endeavouring, by their Authority, to make the Queen believe, that, as a *Christian Duty*, she ought to take up her Cross anew, and drag it contentedly on to her Life's End.

Nay; to carry on this pious Fraud to the utmost, you even took Care, Madam, to plant your self in her Way when going to receive the Sacrament: To intimidate her from

from communicating, one may reasonably suppose, till first reconcil'd to you.

All these ingenious Devices, however, prov'd fruitless ; her Affection was lost irreversibly : Nor could she be persuaded to think it an Article of Piety to dissemble what she did not feel : She could forgive, and, by the gracious Regard she then vouchsafed you, she signify'd as much : Christianity required no more.

Your Grace, indeed, has given it another Turn, by which you most charitably insinuate the good-natur'd Smile she gave you was religious Grimace only : With what Decorum, Justice, and Discretion, I leave to the Decision of your Peers.

About this Time, (November 13.) the Parliament met, and the House of Commons thought proper to complement the Duke of Marlborough, before they address'd her Majesty ; but not willing to make their Court to the Ministers by halves, they resolved, shortly after, to impeach one Sacheverel, on account of a stupid, virulent Sermon he had preach'd, in which he had presum'd to

make

make free with the Lord-Treasurer, under the Character of *Vulpone* — An Affair trifling and insignificant in itself; and set on foot by those in Power, in order to strike a Terror into all who should, from thence-forward, dare to oppose them; but which, nevertheless, took a quite different Turn; and contributed not a little to their Downfall!

The Nation being thrown into so terrible a Ferment by it, that tho' the Doctor was declared guilty by a Majority of Seventeen, it was held expedient to let him go with so gentle a Censure, that he seemed rather to triumph over his Prosecutors, than they to have accomplish'd their Ends on him.

This was the most remarkable Occurrence that happened during this Session: And together with the Grant of another exorbitant Supply of almost 6,200,000*l.* to carry on the War, is another fatal Proof, that, whether Whig or Tory, our Representatives much oftner do their own Business, than that of their Constituents.

But how excessively complaisant this House of Commons, in particular, was to the Ministers,

ters, will appear yet further, as we proceed to wait upon your Grace; which we are now to do in the grand Trial of Skill between the *Marlborough* and *Masham*-Families, which is thus set forth in the Account before us.

In the Beginning of January 17^o. the Earl of *Essex* died; and the Queen presently wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough* to give his Regiment to Mr. *Hill*, a Man who had been *basely ungrateful* to me who raised him; and whose Sister, Mrs. *Masham*, the Duke well knew was at this Time undermining the Interest of himself, his Family and Friends.

Upon this Message from the Queen, the Duke waited upon her, and with all Humanity represented to her, what a Prejudice it would be to her Service, to have so young an Officer prefer'd before so many others of higher Rank and longer Service. Besides, that the shewing so extraordinary and particular Favour to Mrs. *Masham's* BROTHER, could be interpreted no otherwise than as a *declaring against ALL those* who

‘ who had so much Reason to be uneasy with
 ‘ her; and that indeed it would be setting up
 ‘ a Banner for all the *discontented* Persons in
 ‘ the Army to repair to. In short, the Duke
 ‘ said every Thing he could think of, and
 ‘ with all the moving Concern that the Na-
 ‘ ture of the Affair created in him, to engage
 ‘ her Majesty to *change her Resolution*. But
 ‘ all seemed to no Purpose. He could not
 ‘ draw one kind Expression from her, nor
 ‘ obtain any Answer, but *that he would do*
 ‘ *well to advise with his Friends.*

‘ Lord Godolphin spoke often to her upon
 ‘ the same Subject, representing to her the
 ‘ Duke’s long, great, and *faithful Services*,
 ‘ and the very bad *Influence* which her intend-
 ‘ ed Favour to Mr. Hill must necessarily have
 ‘ in the Army. But neither had this so
 ‘ much Effect as to engage her to say one fa-
 ‘ vourable Word about the Duke. On the
 ‘ 15th of January therefore he left the Town
 ‘ and went to *Windsor* in great *Discontent*.
 ‘ It was Council-Day. The Queen did not
 ‘ ask where he was, nor take the least Notice
 ‘ of his Absence. His withdrawing himself
 ‘ made a great *Noise* in the Town. Many of

the Nobility spoke with *Earnestness* to the Queen of the very ill *Consequences* of mortifying a Man, who had done her so long and *important Services*. Her Majesty answered, that his *Services* were still fresh in her Memory, and that she had as much Kindness for him as ever she had. The *Noise* however still continued and increased, and there was great *Discourse*, not without Probability, that some *Notice* would be taken of the Matter in the House of Commons, and some *Votes* past disagreeable to her MAJESTY and her new Counsellors. This Design was laid to my Charge, but I said enough to the Queen to vindicate myself from it. And it was indeed owing to the Duke's particular Friends in the House, that no such Notice was taken.

The new Counsellors being alarmed with Apprehensions of what the Parliament might do, and believing that they should be able at a proper Season to make better Use of the Queen's yielding up the Point, than of her insisting upon it, gave her Advice accordingly: So that, January the 20th,

' 20th, she ordered Lord *Godolphin* to write
 ' to the Duke, that he might dispose of the
 ' Regiment as he himself thought fit : And to
 ' desire him to come to Town. But before
 ' this reached Lord *Marlborough*, he had
 ' written the following Letter to the Queen.

' MADAM,

' By what I hear from *London*, I find
 ' your Majesty is pleased to think, that when
 ' I have reflected, I must be of Opinion, that
 ' you are in the right in giving Mr. *Hill* the
 ' Earl of *Essex*'s Regiment. I beg your
 ' Majesty will be so just to me, as not to
 ' think I can be so unreasonable, as to be
 ' mortified to the Degree that I am, if it pro-
 ' ceeded only from this one Thing ; for I
 ' shall always be ready and glad to do every
 ' Thing that is agreeable to you, after I have
 ' represented what may be a Prejudice to your
 ' Service. But this is only one of a great
 ' many *Mortifications* that I have met with.
 ' And as I may not have many Opportuni-
 ' ties of writing to you, let me beg of your
 ' Majesty to reflect what your own People,

and the rest of the World must think,
 who have been Witnesses of the Love, Zeal
 and Duty, with which I have served you,
 when they shall see, that after ALL I have
 DONE, it has not been able to protect me
 against the Malice of a Bed-chamber Wo-
 man. Your Majesty will allow me on this
 Occasion to re-mind you of what I writ to
 you the last Campaign, of the certain
 Knowledge I had of Mrs. Masham's having
 assured Mr. Harley, that I should receive
 such constant *Mortifications*, as should
 make it impossible for me to continue in
 your Service. God Almighty, and the
 whole World are my Witnesses, with what
 Care and Pains I have served you for more
 than twenty Years, and I was resolved, if
 possible, to have struggled with the Diffi-
 culties to the End of this War. But the
 many Instances I have had of your Majes-
 ty's great Change to me, has so broke my
 Spirits, that I must beg as the greatest and
 last Favour, that you will approve of my
 retiring, so that I may employ the little
 Time I have to live, in making my just
 Acknowledgments to God for the Protec-
 tion

tion he has been pleased to give me. And
 your Majesty may be assured that my Zeal
 for you and my Country are so great, that
 in my Retirement I shall daily pray for your
 Prosperity, and that those, who shall serve
 you as faithfully as I have done, may never
 feel the *hard Return* that I have met with.

The Queen wrote him an Answer, ex-
 pressing some Concern at several Parts of his
 Letter, assuring him, without entring into
 Particulars, that he had no Ground for
 Suspicions, and desiring him to come to
 Town.

But fearing at the same Time that some
 Motion might be made in Parliament a-
 gainst Mrs. Masham, which might be at-
 tended with very *disagreeable Consequences*,
 she sent about in much *Concern*, to many
 Persons to stand by her, as if some great
 Attack were going to be made upon her.
 This Application and the Closetting some
 Persons, who were known Enemies to the
 Revolution, gave Encouragement to the
 Jacobites; several of whom were now ob-

' served running to Court with Faces full of
 ' Business and Satisfaction, as if they were
 ' going to get the Government into their
 ' Hands. And this being represented to the
 ' Queen, as a kind of *Victory* gained by her
 ' over the *Marlborough*-Family, was doubt-
 ' less one Means of hindering all Thoughts of
 ' a *real Accommodation*.

Before I proceed to animadvert on this long Quotation, I must beg Leave to put your Grace in Mind that, in the Catalogue of Benefits bestowed by your excessive Goodness upon Mrs. *Hill*, and her Family, you are pleased to set a Regiment to the Account of the very Mr. *Hill* above-mentioned ; which was then bestowed without any Fear of giving Umbrage to the Senior or more deserving Officers of the Army, or creating Murmurs against the General : So unexceptionable were your Grace's Commands understood to be, and so punctually were they obeyed !

To explain myself more fully ; you, Madam, in virtue of your Relation to the Duke, might safely presume to *create* Mr. *Hill* a Colonel ; but it was a horrid Trespass in the

Queen to *remove* him from one Regiment to another : Tho' told, even by his Grace, he was a *good-for-nothing Fellow*, you prefer'd him ; and tho' he had now the Merit of his Services to plead at the Battle of *Malplaquet*, the Siege of *Mons*, and elsewhere, her Majesty could not do the same, without making herself a Thousand Enemies; without destroying the Credit of the General, and setting up a Banner for all the Mutineers of the Army to repair to.

If the Queen ventured to make a Bishop, or paused in the Nomination of a *Professor*, it was a Wound given to the high Prerogative of her Ministers ; and if she touched upon the Army, the Duke's Province was invaded : So that, except in Forms and Ceremonies, my Lady-Mayoress was as much considered in the State as she.

Nay, it is most remarkable, that when the Disposal of this single Commission was disputed with her Majesty, no Objection was made to the Courage or Conduct of Mr. *Hill*; nor was the least Insinuation dropt that he had ever misbehaved : It was enough

to say he had been *ungrateful* to the Duchess of *Marlborough*.

Alas ! Madam, if Ingratitude had been a Disqualifier, a far more considerable Command than Mr. *Hill's* had never been bestowed.

Your Grace has been pleased to drop, as from the Mouths of your Adversaries, that the Queen was a Slave to the *Marlborough*-Family. And is not that shameful Fact sufficiently proved by every Particular, set down in your own partial Story ? As long as she continues to obey Orders, she is suffered to nod in quiet upon the Throne : But the Moment she rouses herself, prepares to exert the Sovereign, and insist on having it recollected she has a Will and Pleasure of her own ; the Alarm is taken, her Dictators frown, their Implements cabal, and all is running into Confusion.

Thus, in the Case before us, the Duke having done his utmost to talk the Queen out of her Purpose to no Effect, he not only quits the Town in Disgust, but, to make his Retreat the more remarkable, chuses to set out on a Council-Day : A great Noise ensues,

the

the Queen is beset with his *Creatures*, reproached with his *Services*, and even menaced with the ill *Consequences* of MORTIFYING a Man of his *Importance*; nay, the very House of Commons, (more it seems at the Beck of his Grace, than concern'd for the Authority of their Sovereign, and behaving rather like the Faction of one towering Subject than the Representatives of the whole People) are on the Point of passing *disagreeable Votes*; and the Queen is even obliged to the Duke's *particular Friends*, (a Cant-Word for *Tools*) that those *disagreeable Votes* did not actually take Place.

In a Word, the *Marlborough-Family* is again too mighty for her, and she is again obliged to wave her Point, and make her Submission.

But this was not enough: She must be punished for her Temerity, in daring to wrestle a Fall with such unequal Enemies. The very *Bed-chamber-Woman*, as she is stil'd by Way of Contempt in the Duke of *Marlborough's Letter*, Mrs. *Masham*, tho' a Servant of the Household, not of the State, is held considerable

siderable and obnoxious enough to deserve the Indignation of the House of Commons; and a Design was actually form'd by Lord Sunderland, to procure an * Address from thence, that she might be remov'd from her Majesty's Presence; for having had the Insolence to solicit her Brother's Preferment, and divers other horrid *Practices* against the Marlborough-Family: And her Majesty's Uneasiness on Occasion of this intended Insult, as well as her seasonable Enquiry if she had any Friends left to support her in the Exercise of a small Pittance of her own royal Prerogative, against the Tyranny of an overbearing Faction, which, not content with giving the Law to the whole Kingdom, insisted likewise on subjugating the Throne, your Grace has sneered at; as if an Address of that unprecedented Nature, as if such a glaring Proof of the General's Almighty Influence was a Matter of no Moment to the Queen; tho' the preferring Mr. Hill to Lord Essex's Regiment, was to be held such a

* It is affirm'd this Address was actually drawn up.

Morti-

Mortification to the Duke of *Marlborough*,
and such an Obstacle to the public Service.

Posterity, however, will not be persuaded to see these Transactions thro' the Medium of your Grace's Prejudices : On the Contrary they will consider her Majesty as in Turn most unhappily the Bubble and the Prey of those who were indebted to her for Titles, Honours, Wealth, Power and Fame ; as most effectually disarmed of her Authority ; as in danger of being distress'd into whatever Measures her Dictators took a Fancy to impose upon her ; as reproach'd with Services perform'd, instead of being thank'd for Favours bestow'd ; and as meeting with the fiercest Opposition, where she might have justly expected the most perfect Obedience and Resignation.

Of which melancholy Situation of her Majesty's, what stronger Proofs need be given, than that she should be oblig'd to exert her whole remaining Interest to save one Woman-Servant from being torn from under her Roof, by the House of Commons ? and that even the gaining her Point

Should be look'd upon as matter of Triumph and Congratulation ; as a Victory over the Marlborough-Family ?

But tho' this thorough-pac'd House of Commons had been at last induc'd by her Majesty's Friends, to drop the Address for removing Mrs. Masham, they resolv'd to lose no Opportunity of magnifying their great Leader : Accordingly, the Negotiations for a Peace having been renewed, and the States having sent Passes for the French Plenipotentiaries, they came to a Resolution to address the Queen, that she would be pleased to send the Duke of Marlborough forthwith to Holland : They likewise invited the House of Peers to join in the said Address, (which their Lordships were prevail'd upon to do,) and laid hold on this Occasion to over-awe her Majesty with the following pompous Paragraphs, setting forth his Grace's Merits, Services, Importance, &c.

We cannot but take this Opportunity
to express our Sense of the great and un-
parallelled Services of the Duke of Marl-
borough, and with all imaginable Duty to
applaud

applaud your Majesty's great Wisdom, in
having honour'd the same Person with
the great Characters of General and Pleni-
potentiary, who, in our humble Opinion,
is most capable of discharging two such im-
portant Trusts.

We therefore make it our humble Re-
quest to your Majesty, that you would
be pleased to order the Duke of Marl-
borough's immediate Departure for Holland,
where his Presence will be equally ne-
cessary, to assist at the Negotiations of
Peace, and to hasten the Preparations for
an early Campaign, which will most
effectually disappoint the Artifices of our
Enemies, and procure a safe and honour-
able PEACE for your Majesty and your
Allies.

Accordingly, in February the Duke set
out for Holland; but tho' the Conferences at
Gertruydenbergh began in March, and the
Campaign was not opened till April, his
Grace never assisted in Person. All was art-
fully left to the Management of the States;
and tho' we were made Principals in carry-
ing

ing on the War, nay, had the *labouring Oar* put upon us by the whole Confederacy, as was more than once confess'd by Lord *Godolphin* himself, we were now content to act, or rather to look on, as no way concerned in the Conclusion of it.

The French, however, were become so sick of their ambitious Projects, and so humbled with their repeated ill Successes, that they readily made all the Concessions which were either reasonable or necessary. They gave up *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, the Point we principally contended for, to King *Charles*; and reserv'd only *Sicily* for King *Philip*. They moreover offered an annual Subsidy to the Allies, till the *Spaniards* should be forc'd to come into this Partition; and only insisted that when the Treaty came on, no other Demands should be made upon them, than were contained in the Preliminaries: But the *Dutch*, now in the Meridian of their Greatness, were pleas'd both to put a Negative on the last Proposal, and to refuse the annual Subsidy: upon which the Negotiations were again

again broke off; the Court of *France* sent a sort of Manifesto to the Great Pensioner, in which they threw all the Blame of the Rupture upon the *Dutch*; and the Loss of this grand Opportunity, (as now universally acknowledg'd) was as great a Blunder in Politics, as the worst that has since been farther'd on the Treaty of *Utrecht* itself.

We must now return back to St. *James's*, where we find your Grace busy in making your last Efforts to recover your lost Dominion; tho' certainly by the most impolitic Steps that ever were pursued.

The Queen, it was apparent, Madam, had not only lost all Relish for your Conversation, but even thought of it with Disgust and Loathing: Violent Affections are generally followed by Antipathies as violent: It was natural therefore, that she should avoid the Conversation she no longer delighted in; and studiously endeavour to preserve the Repose she had with such Difficulty attain'd.

Your Grace, 'tis true, has represented it as a great Hardship, that you should be refused

fused a private Audience, which you had so urgently solicited ; and affect to consider the Difficulties thrown in your Way as so many Injuries : But surely the Queen, on the other Hand, had a Right to defend herself from such Importunities, to decline a troublesome Scene, and to prescribe the Manner in which she thought proper to admit of the Justification you so vehemently insisted on.

Your Grace could write as well as speak ; and the Queen was more dispos'd to indulge the Licence of your Pen than your Tongue.

But you would be heard, Madam —
And now the Curtain draws, and enter the quondam Favourite, soliciting a *Page* to procure her an Audience.

Upon the sixth of April I followed this Letter to Kensington, and by that Means prevented the Queen's writing again to me, as she was preparing to do. The Page who went in to acquaint the Queen that I was come to wait upon her, staid longer than usual ; long enough, it is to be supposed, to give Time to deliberate whether the

Favour

' Favour of *Admission* should be granted, and
 ' to settle the Measures of Behaviour if I
 ' were admitted. But at last he came out,
 ' and told me *I might* go in. As I was en-
 ' tring the Queen said, she was going to
 ' write to me. And, when I began to speak,
 ' she interrupted me four or five Times with
 ' these repeated Words, *Whatever you have*
 ' *to say, you may put it in writing.* I said,
 ' her Majesty never did so *harsh* a *Thing* to
 ' any, as to refuse to hear *them* speak, and
 ' assured her, that I was not going to trou-
 ' ble her upon the Subject which I knew to
 ' be so *ungrateful* to her, but that I could
 ' not possibly rest, till I had cleared myself
 ' from some particular Calumnies with
 ' which I had been loaded. I then went on
 ' to speak (tho' the Queen turned away her
 ' Face from me) and to represent my *hard*
 ' *Case*; that there were those about her
 ' Majesty, who had made her believe that
 ' I had said Things of her, which I was no
 ' more capable of saying than of killing my
 ' own Children; that I seldom named her
 ' Majesty in Company, and never without
 ' Respect, and the like. The Queen said,

' I without doubt there were many Lies told.
 ' I then begged, in order to make this Trou-
 ' ble the shorter, and my own Innocence
 ' the plainer, that I might know the Parti-
 ' culars of which I had been accused. Be-
 ' cause, if I were guilty, that would quick-
 ' ly appear; and if I were innocent, this
 ' Method only would clear me. The Queen
 ' replied, that *she would give me no Answer,*
 ' laying hold on a Word in my Letter, that
 ' what I had to say in my own Vindication
 ' would have no Consequence in obliging her
 ' Majesty to answer, &c. which surely did
 ' not at all imply, that I did not desire
 ' to know the particular Things laid to
 ' my Charge, without which it was im-
 ' possible for me to clear myself. This I
 ' assured her Majesty was all I desired, and
 ' that *I did not ask the Names of the Au-*
 ' *thors or Relators of those Calumnies,* say-
 ' ing all that I could think reasonable, to
 ' enforce my just Request. But the Queen
 ' repeated again and again the Words she
 ' had used, without ever receding. And
 ' it is probable that this Conversation had
 ' never been consented to, but that her Ma-

: jesty

* jesty had been carefully provided with these
 * Words, as a *Shield* to defend her against
 * every *Reason* I could offer. I protested to
 * her Majesty, that I had no Design, in giv-
 * ing her this Trouble, to solicit the Return
 * of her Favour, but that my sole View was to
 * clear myself; which was too just a Design
 * to be wholly disappointed by her Majesty.
 * Upon this, the Queen offered to go out
 * of the Room, I following her, and beg-
 * ging Leave to clear myself; and the Queen
 * repeating over and over again, *you desired*
 * *no Answer, and shall have none.* When
 * she came to the Door, I fell into great Dis-
 * order: Streams of Tears flow'd down a-
 * gainst my Will, and prevented my speak-
 * ing for some Time. At length I recov-
 * ered myself, and appealed to the Queen,
 * in the Vehemence of my Concern, whe-
 * ther I might not still have been happy in
 * her Majesty's Favour, if I could have con-
 * tradicted or dissembled my real Opinion
 * of Men, or Things? Whether I had e-
 * ver, during our long Friendship, told her

' one Lie, or play'd the Hypocrite once?
 ' Whether I had offended in any Thing,
 ' unless in a very *zealous pressing* upon her,
 ' that which I thought necessary for her *Ser-*
 ' *vice* and *Security*? I then said I was in-
 ' form'd by a very reasonable and credible
 ' Person about the Court, that Things were
 ' laid to my Charge, of which I was whol-
 ' ly uncapable; that this Person knew that
 ' such Stories were perpetually told to her
 ' Majesty to incense her, and had begg'd of
 ' me to come and vindicate myself; that
 ' the same Person had thought me of
 ' late guilty of some Omissions towards her
 ' Majesty, being entirely ignorant how un-
 ' easy to her my frequent Attendance must
 ' be, after what had happened between us.
 ' I explained some Things which I had heard
 ' her Majesty had taken amiss of me, and
 ' then with a fresh Flood of Tears, and a
 ' Concern sufficient to move *Compassion* e-
 ' ven where all *Love* was absent, I begg'd
 ' to know what other Particulars she had
 ' heard of me, that I might not be denied
 ' all Power of justifying myself. But still
 ' the

' the only Return was, *You desired no Answer, and you shall have none.* I then begged to know if her Majesty would tell me some other Time? — *You desired no Answer, and you shall have none.* I then appealed to her Majesty again, if she did not herself know that I had often despised Interest in Comparison of serving her faithfully and doing right? And whether she did not know me to be of a Temper uncapable of disowning any Thing which I knew to be true? — *You desir'd no Answer, and you shall have none.* This Usage was so severe, and these Words, so often repeated, were so SHOCKING (being an utter Denial of COMMON JUSTICE to one who had been a most faithful Servant, and now asked nothing more) that I could not conquer myself, but said the most disrespectful Thing I ever spoke to the Queen in my Life, and yet, what such an Occasion and such Circumstances might well excuse, if not justify. And that was, *I was confident her Majesty would SUFFER for such an Instance of INHUMANITY.* The Queen

answer'd, *That will be to myself.* Thus ended this remarkable Conversation, the last I had with her Majesty. I shall make no Comment upon it. The Queen always meant well, how much soever she might be blinded or misguided.'

You have here, Madam, charged your Royal Mistress, to whose Memory you was, some time since, at the Expence of erecting a Statue, with behaving in a *shocking Manner*, with a Denial of *Common Justice*, with the Guilt of *Inhumanity*: The Queen has been in her Grave almost these seven and twenty Years: The Nature of this Dialogue admitted of no Witnesses; we must depend on your own Report; and yet I am sanguine enough to believe that in the End, her Majesty's Innocence will triumph over the Malice of the *** of ***.

That your Grace could ill bear to be dispossess'd of your Empire by one of your own Vassals, I can very readily suppose; that you should leave no Expedient untry'd to recover it, I do not in the least wonder; but that you should insist upon it as a Matter

of Right, that the Queen should descend to enter into a Series of personal Altercations with you, I can never enough be astonish'd at. Her Majesty, 'tis true, had withdrawn her Confidence and Favour from you ; but whatever Motives she had for so doing, she had not ventured to give them Utterance ; She had never once presum'd to publish a Complaint against you ; as well-knowing how mightily you were supported, and how hard it would be for her to make Head against one who in Fact was now and had hitherto been more a S——n than she. What Pretence then could be made for an Attempt to force her to account for her Behaviour, to one she had not even accus'd ; or, by a free Declaration of her Thoughts, to involve herself in a Controversy with those who, in spite of Truth and Conviction, would have wrangled with her to all Eternity ? Your Grace, indeed, may affirm, that all you aim'd at was to clear your self ; but for my Part, I rather incline to think you had some Hope to confound the Queen first, and, afterwards, bring her to answer for her

own Conduct, before your dread Tribunal. A Consciousness of Integrity is Consolation sufficient for the Innocent; and if neither Spleen nor Ambition had any Share in this lively Scene, it would scarce have been disturb'd with such a Variety of Passions: The Storm would scarce have thunder'd so loud, or the Showers have fallen so lavishly: But the whole Woman is rouz'd; Firmness on one Side creates Frailty on the other. To find the Queen immoveable, argued her invincible: a Disappointment your Grace could not bear! a Mortification you had never met with before!— Here, for the first Time, we find her Majesty to be Queen indeed: Had she suffered herself to be moy'd with the Part you play'd, had she again departed from her Dignity and submitted to parley as an Equal instead of maintaining the Superiority she had so long resigned, farewell Royalty for ever; your Grace had again been Lady-Paramount, and her Majesty had remain'd a State-Puppet, to move, speak, and act as the Prompter pleas'd, till Death had dropt the Curtain,

What,

What, therefore, Madam, you are pleased to call *shocking* on this Occasion, was no other than Self-defence; a reasonable Mound to keep the Torrent from sweeping her before it: What you call a Denial of common Justice to you, was no other than a Piece of common Justice to her self; perhaps the only Instance of the Kind to be met with in her whole Reign; and the *Inhumanity* you reproach her with, and denounce *Vengeance* upon her for, but a laudable Resolution, which every sensible Reader is pleas'd to find that Upbraidings could not shake, nor Tears melt away.

But then your *Services* — your *faithful Services* — Madam, you have made your Readers sick with the Repetition of that fulsome Word; it occurs in almost every Page: Who, therefore, can doubt but that her Majesty, who had heard it rung in her Ears perpetually for so many Years together, must, at last, be led to consider it as a Grievance, as well as we? Not, however, till she had display'd the most grateful Heart that ever filled a royal Bosom; not till she had al-

most

most exhausted every Source of Bounty belonging to the Crown; not till she had glutted both you and your Family with Rewards; not till she had made you the Envy of these Kingdoms, and the Wonder of all others, by contenting her self with the bare Name, and centering in you all the Powers and Privileges of Royalty.

Having, therefore, made such Returns for those boasted Services, having never once thought of a Resumption, having put and left you in Possession of more Wealth than your Ancestors, perhaps, could have made an Estimate of, where was the mighty Hardship of withdrawing her Countenance only, and dismissing you from her Bosom, without fatiguing her self with a painful Detail of Provocations without Number, and Complaints without End?

This however, Madam, is the Sum of your Complaint against her Majesty Queen *Anne*, which you pour forth with great Bitterness; but without one Recollection of her unbounded Goodness; without one Acknowledgement of the almost incredible Harvest which

which you reap'd in the Sunshine of her Royal Favour.

But to proceed. It has hitherto been my Endeavour to prove, Madam, that nothing less would serve her Majesty's Dictators than the full and entire Possession of her whole Authority; that whenever she presum'd to exercise the smallest Branch of it herself, she met with nothing but Expostulations, Menaces, and Reprimands: and that, in effect, she became no more than the Shadow of a Sovereign.

What remains, is to shew that, when she manifested a Design to take the Reins of Government into her own Hand, those very Persons on whom she had lavish'd such a Profusion of Favours, entered into a Confederacy with their whole Band of Tools and Implements, to oppose and distress her in every Measure she took: proving themselves alike, insatiable and imperious when in Power, and ungrateful and turbulent when out.

And this is in part, evident even from the Letter of Lord *Gedolphin's*, which your Grace

has

has inserted in your Account, by way of Specimen of the *Honesty of his Heart*, and the *Clearness of his Understanding*.

‘ New-Market April 15. 1710.

‘ I have the Honour of your Majesty’s
 ‘ Letter of the 13th, by which I have the
 ‘ Grief to find that what you are pleased to
 ‘ call Spleen in my former Letter, was on-
 ‘ ly a true Impulse and Conviction of Mind,
 ‘ that your Majesty is suffering yourself to be
 ‘ guided to your own *Ruin* and *Destruction*
 ‘ as fast as it is possible for them to com-
 ‘ pass it, to whom you seem so much to
 ‘ hearken.

‘ I am not therefore so much surprized,
 ‘ as concerned at the Resolution, which
 ‘ your Majesty says you have taken, of
 ‘ bringing in the Duke of Shrewsbury. For
 ‘ when People began to be sensible it would
 ‘ be *difficult* to persuade your Majesty to
 ‘ dissolve a Parliament, which, for two
 ‘ Winters together, had given you above six
 ‘ Millions a Year for the Support of a WAR,
 ‘ upon which your *Crown depends*; even
 ‘ while that War is still subsisting, they
 ‘ have

' have had the Cunning to contrive this
 ' Proposal to your Majesty, which in it's
 ' Consequence will certainly put you under
 ' a Necessity of *breaking the Parliament*.
 ' though contrary (I yet believe) to your
 ' Mind and Intention.

' I beg your Majesty to be persuaded, I
 ' do not say this out of the least Prejudice
 ' to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. There is no
 ' Man of whose Capacity I have had a bet-
 ' ter Impression; nor with whom I have
 ' lived more easily and freely for above
 ' twenty Years. Your Majesty may please
 ' to remember, that, at your first coming to
 ' the Crown, I was desirous he should have
 ' had one of the *chief Posts* in your Service;
 ' and it would have been happy for your
 ' Majesty and the Kingdom, if he had *ac-
 ' cepted* that Offer: But he thought fit to
 ' decline it, and the Reasons generally given
 ' at that Time for his doing so, do not much
 ' recommend him to your Majesty's Service.
 ' But I must endeavour to let your Majesty
 ' see Things as they really are. And to bring
 ' him into your Service and into your Busi-

ness at this Time; just after his being in
 a publick, open Conjunction in every Vote
 with the whole Body of the Tories, and
 in a private, constant Correspondence
 and Caballing with Mr. Harley in every
 Thing, what Consequence can this possi-
 bly have, but to make every Man that is
 now in your Cabinet-Council, except ob-
 liged to run from it as
 they would from the PLAGUE? And I
 leave it to your Majesty to judge, what
 Effect this entire Change of your Ministers
 will have among your Allies abroad, and
 how well this War is like to be car-
 ried on, in their Opinion, by those who
 have all along opposed and obstructed it,
 and who will like any Peace the better,
 the more it leaves France at Liberty, to
 take their Time of imposing the Pretender
 upon this Country.

These Considerations must certainly
 make Holland run immediately into a
 separate Peace with France, and make your
 Majesty lose all the Honour, and all the
 Reputation your Arms had acquired by
 the

the War ; and make the Kingdom lose all
 the Fruits of that vast Expence which
 they have been at in this War, as well as
 all the Advantage and Safety which they
 had so much Need of, and had so fair a
 Prospect of obtaining by it. And can any
 Body imagine that after so great a Disap-
 pointment to the Kingdom, there will not
 be an ENQUIRY into the *Causes of it* ;
 and who have been the *Occasion* of so
 great a Change in your Majesty's Mea-
 sures and Counsels, which had been so
 long successful, and gotten you so great a
 Name in the World ? I am very much a-
 fraid your Majesty will find, when it is
 too late, that it will be a *pretty difficult*
 Task, for ANY BODY to stand against
 such an *Enquiry*. I am sure if I did
 not think all these Consequences *inevita-*
ble, I would never give your Majesty the
 Trouble and Uneasiness of laying them
 before you. But, persuaded as I am that
 your Majesty will find them so, it is my
 indispensable Duty to do it out of pure
 Faithfulness and Zeal for your Majesty's

‘ Service and Honour. Your Majesty’s having taken a Resolution of so much Consequence to all your Affairs both at Home and Abroad, without *acquainting* the Duke of Marlborough or me with it, till after you had taken it, is the least Part of my Mortification in this whole Affair. Though perhaps the World may think the long and FAITHFUL SERVICES we have constantly and zealously endeavoured to do your Majesty, might have deserved a little more *Consideration*. However for my own Part, I most humbly beg Leave to assure your Majesty, I will never give the least Obstruction to your Measures, or to any Ministers you shall please to employ. And I must beg further, to make two humble Requests to your Majesty; the one, that you will allow me to pass the Remainder of my Life always out of *London*, where I may find most Ease and Quiet; the other, that you would keep this Letter and read it again about next *Christmas*, and then be pleased to make your own Judgment

' Judgment, who hath given you the best
' and most faithful Advice,

' I am, &c.'

If there is any one Person, who is so ill a Judge of Happiness, as to look with Envy on the exalted State of Monarchs, let him read your Grace's Book ; let him consider but the slight Sample, therein given, of the successive Persecutions her Majesty was exposed to, and he cannot fail to be undeceived : Pity will then take its Turn, and he will thank God, that he was not born to Empire, and the Calamities inseparable from it.

We have seen the State, the Church, and the Army wrested out of her Majesty's Hand, as Provinces too unwieldy for her Management ; and now, when she aspires but to be Mistress of her own Family, and to dispose of an Office in her Household, tho' in Favour of one of the first and greatest of her Nobility, she is threaten'd with *Ruin and Destruction*, the *Parliament* and the *Pretender*, as the infallible Consequence. — Yes, Madam, she is again told, that her

E e Crown

Crown depends on the War ; and that to make a Lord-Chamberlain, who was not of the *Marlborough-Faction*, would lay her under a Necessity to break with her Parliament : — which is as much as to say, they would break with her first, and oblige her to dis-solve them, whether she would or not. Nay her Counsellors would all *run* from her Cabinet, as from the *Plague*; which would draw down *Enquiries*, &c. that NOBODY could stand. — Strange Language this from a Subject to his Sovereign, from an honest Man, a wise Man, and one who would give no Obstruction to her Majesty's Measures, or Ministers ! Especially as all my Lord *Shrewsbury's* Sins consisted in refusing Preferment on Terms he did not like, in voting with the Tories, and corresponding with Mr. *Harley*. — This Letter neither needs nor deserves any farther Comment.

We come now to the grievous BLOW of removing my Lord *Sunderland*, upon which it is fit your Grace should be heard first, as follows.

— ‘ About the Beginning of June, the Design of turning out Lord *Sunderland* began

[to]

‘ to be talked of. Lord *Marlborough* was
‘ now abroad at the Head of the Army.

‘ As soon as the News of this Design
‘ reached him, he wrote a **VERY moving**
‘ Letter to the Queen, representing the *very*
‘ ill Consequences it would necessarily have
‘ upon all Affairs abroad, to have his Son-
‘ in-Law, against whose Fidelity nothing
‘ could be objected, and in whom the Allies
‘ had so entire a *Confidence*, turned out of her
‘ Service in the Middle of a Campaign; and
‘ begging it as a *Reward* of his past Services,
‘ that she would at least delay her Resolu-
‘ tion till the Campaign was ended. I was
‘ likewise urged by some Friends to try to
‘ say something to divert, if possible, such a
‘ STROKE; because it was given out that
‘ the Queen would do this chiefly on my
‘ Account, that I might feel the Effects of
‘ her Displeasure in so sensible and tender a
‘ Point. No Consideration proper to myself,
‘ could have induced me to trouble the Queen
‘ again, after our last Conversation. But I
‘ was overcome by the Consideration of Lord
‘ *Marlborough*, Lord *Sunderland*, and the

PUBLIC INTEREST, and wrote in the best
 Manner I could to the Queen, June 7,
 1710. begging, for Lord Marlborough's Sake,
 that she would not give him such a BLOW,
 of which I dreaded the Consequence, put-
 ting her in mind of the Letter about the
 Duke upon the Victory at Blenheim; and
 adding the most solemn Assurances, that I
 had not so much as a Wish to remove Mrs.
 Masham, and that all the Noise which had
 been about an Address for that Purpose,
 had been occasioned by Lord Marlborough's
 Discontents at that Time, which most People
 thought were just. To this the Queen
 wrote a very short and harsh Answer, com-
 plaining that I had broke my Promise of
 not saying any Thing of POLITICKS, or
 of Mrs. Masham; and concluding, that it
 was plain from this ill Usage what she was
 to expect for the future.

I could not forbear, for my own Vindica-
 tion, to write a second Letter, in which I
 assured her Majesty, that I should not have
 troubled her with the first, but that I
 heard it reported, that the Persecution, be-
 gun

gun against Lord *Marlborough* and his Fa-
 mily, was chiefly occasioned by her Ma-
 jesty's Displeasure and Aversion to me, as
 having promoted an Address against Mrs.
Masham; that it was only to vindicate my-
 self from that Aspersion, that I had pre-
 sumed to trouble her; that I could not ima-
 gine it could be interpreted as an Offence,
 to vindicate myself from what was now
 made the Pretence for turning out Lord
Sunderland, and pushing Lord *Marlbo-*
rough to Extremities; that I had no Rea-
 son to think, that the assuring her Majesty,
 that I would never have any Hand in any
 Thing against Mrs. *Masham*, could have
 been construed as an ungrateful speaking a-
 bout her, or called a Continuation of ill
 Usage; that I thought this was rather a
 complying with her Majesty's Inclination,
 and saying what she could not but approve;
 that all the Politicks in my Letter was my
 Concern for Lord *Marlborough*; making it
 at last my most earnest Request, that her
 Majesty would only defer the Blow till
 the End of the Campaign. This, I added,

I begged upon my Knees, and left her Ma-
jesty to judge whether, after such an *Expres-
sion*, it was *likely* that I should ever enter into
any Thing that could *displease* her.

Whether my interfering in this Matter
hastened the Execution of the Design, I
cannot say. Certain it is that it did not re-
tard it, for Lord *Sunderland* was presently
after dismissed from his Office. On which
Occasion several great Men, *who wished*
well to their Country, and who feared that
my Lord *Marlborough* might in Disgust
quit the Service, immediately wrote him a
joint Letter, which I shall here insert, in
Honour both of them and of the Duke.

June 14, 1710.

MY LORD,

We should not have given your Grace
the Trouble of this joint Letter, but for
the great Concern and Uneasiness in which
we find you, on Account of my Lord *Sun-
derland*, by your Letter of the 20th to my
Lord Treasurer, which *he has communi-
cated to us*. That Letter, as *moving*, and

‘ as reasonable as it was, has not hindered the
 ‘ Seals from being taken this Morning from
 ‘ my Lord Sunderland. No Wonder then if
 ‘ the utmost Endeavours which could be
 ‘ used to prevent it, and the strong Argu-
 ‘ ments which have been made of the *ill*
 ‘ *Consequences*, that must attend such Steps
 ‘ both *at Home* and *Abroad* have met with so
 ‘ little Success. We find ourselves so much
 ‘ afflicted with this Misfortune, that we can-
 ‘ not but be extremely sensible of the great
 ‘ *Mortification* this must give you at this cri-
 ‘ tical Juncture, when you are every Moment
 ‘ hazarding your Life in the Service of your
 ‘ Country, and whilst the Fate of *Europe*
 ‘ depends in so great a Degree on your Con-
 ‘ duct and good Success: But we are also as
 ‘ fully convinced that it is impossible for your
 ‘ Grace to quit the Service at this Time,
 ‘ without the utmost Hazard to the whole
 ‘ Alliance. And we must therefore conjure
 ‘ you by the Glory you have already obtain-
 ‘ ed, by the many Services you have done
 ‘ your Queen and Country, by the Expecta-
 ‘ tion you have justly raised in all *Europe*, and

' by all that is dear and tender to you at
 ' Home, whose chief Dependence is upon
 ' your Success, that you would not leave this
 ' great Work unfinished, but continue at
 ' the Head of the Army. This we look
 ' upon as the most necessary Step that
 ' can be taken to prevent the *Dissolution*
 ' of this *Parliament*. Your Grace's Com-
 ' pliance with this our earnest Request would
 ' be the greatest Obligation to us, and all that
 ' wish well to our Country. And you may
 ' depend upon it, that the contrary will be the
 ' greatest Satisfaction to your Enemies. We
 ' are, my Lord, your Grace's most humble
 ' and obedient Servants,

COWPER C.

GODOLPHIN.

SOMERS.

NEWCASTLE.

DEVONSHIRE.

ORFORD.

HALLIFAX.

H. BOYLE.

Nothing is thought trifling which regards the Great ; the Public is therefore particularly oblig'd to your Grace for the Light you have occasionally condescended to give them, on the different Manners in which both you and your two noble Co-adjutors address'd the Throne : Thus it appears that you, Madam, following the natural Bent of your Genius, assum'd the *Notable*, that the Treasurer employ'd the *Authoritative*, and that the Duke descended to the *Moving* or *Pathetic*.

A *moving Letter* was wrote by his Grace, to procure Doctor *Potter* his Professorship ; and now another *VERY moving Letter* is dispatch'd in Behalf of Lord *Sunderland* ; that very Lord *Sunderland*, who had forc'd his Way into the Administration at the Head of the Whigs, who had by the same Strength, been the principal Agent to force Mr. *Harley* out, who had since enter'd into a League with the *Jacobites*, and undertook to ruin the very *Faction* who had admitted him into Power ; and to whom he was so nearly ally'd.

But all his Transgressions were now done away,

away, and not only the Ministers, but the Allies plac'd an entire Confidence in him; and, therefore, terrible Consequences were to be expected in case the Queen shou'd resolve to displace him till the Campaign was over.

Nor was this only the Language of the Duke's *very moving Letter*; but the common Cant of all the State-Usurers and Money-Jobbers of those Times; who haying stak'd their idoliz'd Mammon on the Credit and Power of the Administration, were easily induc'd to echo whatever they were taught: as that our All depended on their Continuance at the Helm, and that the displacing any one of their Cabal would unhinge the whole Confederacy: Forgetting that, when Lord Sunderland enter'd into the above-mentioned League with the *Jacobites*, one of their first Preliminaries was to set aside both the General and the Treasurer; which they then imagined might be done without the least Detriment to the War, or giving any great Umbrage to any one Power concerned in it. Nay, the Queen had received Intelligence that they even went so far, as to sound the

Dutch.

Dutch on the intended Change; both to discover their Sentiments thereon, and to prepare them to receive the News without Surprize, Dismay, or Uneasiness: In order to which the Hints of this Embryo-Project were accompany'd with the strongest Assurances, that the War should be carry'd on with as much Vigour, and the Interests of the Republic as effectually supported as before.

How, therefore, it can be said that the loosening any one Joint of the *Marlborough-Faction* would be fatal to the Confederacy, and yet that this noble Lord, had in no Respect, misbehaved, I am utterly at a Loss to account: And so much the more, as he stood charg'd with setting on foot the Address to remove Mrs. *Masham*, and yet not one of his Advocates ever attempted to prove him innocent.

Upon the whole, Madam, from the Facts and *Reasonings* here laid down, it is obvious to the meanest Capacity, that her Majesty had very sufficient Reasons for discarding *Lord Sunderland*; and that since the same General,

General, and the same Troops, with the same full Powers were continued in *Flanders*, the Operations of the Campaign neither could nor were any ways affected by it.

But your Grace was prevail'd upon to apply to the Queen once more on this affecting Occasion — I am glad you was, with all my Heart; since it gave her Majesty a fitting Opportunity to let you know that your Tyranny in *Politics* was the *ill Usage* she could not bear; and since it brought you to beg a *Favour* as upon your Knees, which you give us to understand was a Condescension you had never submitted to before.

And as to the humble Petition of the seven great Lords, and the Secretary of State to the Duke of *Marlborough*; beseeching his Grace not to deprive the Confederate-Army of his almighty Protection, it seems only to prove more undeniably what has been already advanced; viz. That the Influence of the *Marlborough-Family* was grown so formidably extensive, that it was become alike dangerous, either to connive at its Continu-

ance,

ance, or to endeavour to reduce it within proper Bounds.

Your Grace proceeds to set down in your Account, that, after Lord *Sunderland* was dismiss'd, and Lord *Dartmouth* was promoted in his Stead, her Majesty caus'd Mr. Secretary *Boyle* to signify to the Foreign Courts, that she should make no farther Changes in her Administration, &c. and yet, that, in less than two Months, she removed Lord *Godolphin* likewise. I say, your Grace sets down these Articles with all the Aggravations in your Power, but make no mention of the perpetual ill Humour of that noble Lord from the Time of the Disgrace of Lord *Sunderland*; or his utter Refusal to come into any Compromise to render the Queen's Affairs more easy for the future; or of the Cabals, from that Time, forming to oblige her Majesty to make use of the same Set *entire*, and none but the same Set again.

By way of Supplement then, to this Account of your Grace, be known, that, in the Evening of the very Day in which the

Earl of *Godolphin* was relieved from the Fatigues of Government, a general Assembly of the *Marlborough Faction* was held at Mr. Secretary *Boyle's*, in which the following Conclusions were agreed upon. *Viz.*

- I. That the new Managers would sink under the Weight of their own Deligns.
- II. That it would be impossible for them to support the public Credit, or find Ways and Means to carry on the War.
- III. That, hereby, they must unavoidably plunge the Queen into such inextricable Difficulties, as would force her to throw her Affairs, more absolutely than ever, into the Hands of her old Ministers.
- IV. And that, consequently, it was their Business to stand aloof, nor come into any of her Measures, till her Distresses obliged her to have Recourse to their Services upon their own Terms.

Be it known, likewise, that, even before these notable Resolutions were made, the *Dutch* had been prevailed upon to order their Minister in *London* to intercede with her Majesty, not to make any Changes in her

own Ministry, and to remonstrate the Mischiefs they apprehended would be the Consequence. And be it farther known, that the same noble Personages had the Modesty to spirit up even the Governor and Director of the *Bank of England*, to request certain great Lords to represent to her Majesty, that the Apprehensions of a Change in the Ministry had mightily disturb'd the trading People of the City, shock'd Credit, and they fear'd, if a Stop were not put to it, would cause a Run upon the Bank, and disable them from serving the Government.

Thus it appears, Madam, that the Necessity her Majesty was reduced to, and which you affect to lament so pathetically, was not brought upon her by the new Managers, but the old. And this will appear evident beyond all Contradiction, when it is known, Lastly, that these high and mighty Disposers of all Things had still a *Corps de Reserve*, with which they made no Question to rout their Adversaries, and carry the Day.

Your Grace will easily conceive, that I mean the Parliament. A Parliament they

called

they called their own, and which, they publicly made their Boasts, would unravel all the Queen had done, and set a *Ne plus ultra* to the Projects of her new Ministers.

Thus, Madam, we find these honest Men, these public-spirited Patriots, these grateful Servants forming themselves into a desperate Faction, to create the very Evils they beforehand designed to complain of: and it is to this Root, that all the Grievances of the Residue of this Reign are principally to be ascribed.

For had not this Faction been form'd; or had they not afterwards rejected the Queen's Offers of an Accommodation, nothing is more true than that the restoring of the Government to it's antient Balance, had been the most material Consequence of the Change.

As it was, they compell'd the new Ministers to build their Strength on a different Bottom, to dissolve a Parliament that were more attached to the Interests of the Marlborough Family, than to the Repose of their Sovereign, or the Welfare of the Public; and

they soon saw, with Astonishment, Mr. *Harley*, the Man they had refused to associate with in Council, and had set aside with such peculiar Circumstances of Contempt, not only at the Head of the Nation, but defeating all the Opposition they could raise; maintaining public Credit, making good the Supplies, and even providing parliamentary Security for Debts, amounting to an immense Sum, contracted by and due to his Enemies, which any other Minister, in his Circumstances, would have paid with a Spunge.

As to the Character your Grace has thought proper to insert of this great Man, the Venom of it is all taken out by your frank Acknowledgment, that it was drawn by a FRIEND of yours: since we are thereby assur'd that the Copy is not faithful to the Life, but warp'd and falsify'd to flatter the Malignity of the Purchaser.

Nothing is more easy, Madam, than to make Reprisals; but I chuse, for the present at least, to avoid so invidious a Task. Our Characters are most discernable in our Acti-

ons, and that which has the least of *Self* in it, is the best. My Ld. *Oxford*, after he had been Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, became a Pensioner to his own Son: Whereas, so late as in the Year 1740, no less than 200,000*l.* of the *Marlborough-Acquisitions* lay in *Chancery* wholly unappropriated: In few Words, my Lord *Oxford*, tho' a *Briton*, valued Gold as little as a *Spartan*, when *Lycurgus* had by a Law render'd it useless: He was equal to his Dignities; he was superior to his Misfortunes.

To hasten to a Conclusion: The displacing Lord *Godolphin* was follow'd by a total Change of his whole *Posse*; on which Occasion even Bishop *Burnet* expresses himself as follows. *at* 'The Queen was much delighted with all these Changes, and seemed to think she was *freed* from the *Chains* the old Ministry *held her in*. She spoke of it to several Persons as a *CAPTIVITY* *she had long been under*'.

As to the Military Feats of the Year 1710, they were far from balancing the Expence both of Blood and Treasure they had put us

to ; or curing us of our Regret, that no better Use had been made of the Conferences at *Gertruydenbergh* : the taking of *Doway*, *Bethune*, St. *Venant*, and *Aire*, comprehending the whole of our *Flemish* Conquests during this Campaign : And yet another Year having elaps'd without affording the Dove of Peace a Resting-Place for the Soal of her Foot.

In *Spain*, the War was carried on with great Variety of Success. One Engagement happen'd at *Alemanara*, in which the Allies had the Advantage, and General *Stanhope*, who commanded the Horse, acquir'd great Reputation. The Battle of *Saragossa* followed this, in which the Enemy's Infantry were totally routed, and the Allies were again victorious: but, toward the Close of the Campaign, the Confederate Army, notwithstanding these Advantages, being obliged to retire to *Arragon*, in order to have the Benefit of their Magazines, General *Stanhope* with eight Battalions and eight Squadrons, having detach'd themselves, for the Convenience of supplying themselves with Provisions, from

the main Army, were surrounded by King Philip's Forces in a Place called *Bribuega*; and, after a long and obstinate Defence, till their Ammunition was entirely consum'd, were obliged to surrender themselves Prisoners of War: *Staremburg*, indeed, marched to their Relief; but came too late: He nevertheless gave Battle to K. *Philip*, tho' superior to him in number three to one, defeated him, killed 6000 of his Troops, made himself Master of his Artillery, and continued on the Field of Battle a whole Day.

A Diversion was likewise attempted this Year by a Descent on the Coast of *Languedoc*; but the Project was so miserably put in Execution, that 400 Dragoons, and 2000 Militia render'd it abortive.

With Regard to our domestic Affairs; the new Ministry, having been threatned with the Parliament in Being, had both the Courage to dissolve it, and the Address to procure a new one, better disposed to come into the Measures of the Court.

Believe me, Madam, I do not mention this as Matter of Triumph; for I have ever

ever thought it one of the greatest Mischiefs attendant upon our Constitution, that Parliaments were so much in the Power of the Crown : Nor can I take upon me to prove that Tory-Returns, or the Means employed to render them valid, favour'd much more of Equity than those before made and justified by the Whigs.

To say the Truth ; in the Matter of Elections, both Parties have been, for the general, culpable alike : and the great Struggle seems to have been, which should have the most Sins of this Kind to answer for : Zeal for a Faction, having absorb'd almost all we had to boast of Patriotism and public Spirit, but the Names !

Yet even this Tory-Parliament, however said to be unfairly pack'd and modelled, or however eager to see a Period put to the War, did not, either by Addresses or Remonstrances, endeavour to push the Queen, precipitately, on a Peace ; or, by withholding, or delaying the Supplies, disable her from acting in Conjunction with her Allies, as vigorously as ever : On the contrary, they granted 10,000 addi-

tional Troops, a Land-Tax of 4*s.* in the Pound, and three Millions and a Half by Way of Lottery.

Nor did Mr. *Harley*, whatever particular Reasons he had to shew as little Regard to the General now, as the General had to him while Secretary, suffer his private Resentments to mingle with the Concerns of the Public: Notwithstanding, therefore, the Duke still refused to come to Council as long as Mr. *Harley* had a Seat there, he was continued in his Command, till it was found, by Experience, that the Breach was never to be made up.

But, tho' he continued to serve, and it is pleaded as a great Merit in him that he did, your Grace's high Spirit would not suffer you to do the same, when you found, by repeated Trials, that the Queen was determin'd to put on the Yoke no more: At the End of a *very successful Campaign*, therefore, you tell us, you commissioned the Duke to carry a Surrender of your Places; and the Queen *readily* accepted them: A Circumstance, Madam, which you mention
in

in such a Manner, as seems to argue, some Surprize that she did so.

Your Grace proceeds thus.

' The Duke of *Marlborough*, notwithstanding an infinite Variety of *Mortifications*, by which it was endeavour'd to make him resign his Commission, (that there might be a Pretence to raise an Outcry against him, as having quitted his Queen's and his Country's Service, meerly because he could not govern in the Cabinet, as well as in the Field) continued to serve yet another Campaign. All his Friends here (moved by a true Concern for the public Welfare) pressed him to it, the Confederates called him with the utmost Importunity, and Prince *Eugene* intreated him to come with all the Earnestness and Passion that could be expressed. He went; but his *Authority* was now diminished, and his Forces weaken'd, many of his best Regiments being drawn off, some to go moulder away in *Spain*, and others to be sacrificed in the wild Expedition to *Quebec*. On the other Hand the *French* had regain'd

a Spirit by the Proceedings of their Friends here ; and they seemed to think themselves secure now of bringing Disgrace upon a General, who had so often humbled *them*, and whose very Name had been among them for many Years a Sound of Terror. His masterly Conduct, and his surprising Success disappointed the Hopes both of our foreign and domestick Enemies.'

'Tis Pity, Madam, you have not specified the *Mortifications* (that Favourite-Phrase of the *Marlborough-Family*) which you seem to urge the Duke was *purposely* made to undergo : For, according to the best Lights I have been able to procure, Mr. *Harley*, who was supposed to be now the *First Mover*, treated him with a Distinction, a Delicacy, and a Complaisance, which left his Grace personally not the least Opportunity to complain.

That his *Authority* was *diminished*, requires likewise somewhat more than a bare Assertion to make evident ; for, unless the Alterations which had been made in the Cabinet, or the Loss of your Grace's Empire had diminished his *Authority*, I know of nothing

else

elite that could : The Duke appearing to be as much a Plenipo as ever, at the Head of the Army.

And as to his Forces being weakened ; only Five Thousand Men were draughted off for the Expedition to Quebec ; except a Detachment made by Prince Eugene for the Service on the Rhine, should be thrown into the Account ; and for that, it cannot be pretended the new Minister was answerable.

That, nevertheless, his Grace perform'd a Master-piece in the Art-military, in passing the French Lines in the Neighbourhood of *Bouchain*, called by the Marshal *Villars*, who commanded there, *The Duke's NE PLUS ULTRA*, without the Loss of a Man, I am proud to acknowledge : and that he afterwards carried *Bouchain* itself, tho' almost unapproachable, in Sight of an Army superior to his own, I must likewise acknowledge, was alone sufficient to render his Glory immortal.

But then, Madam, what Equivalent were these splendid Miracles for exhausting the Life-Blood of the Nation, all we could raise,

and all we could borrow? What Advance did even this one Year more of masterly Conduct make towards reducing the Enemy? What peculiar Advantages resulted to *Britain* from those boasted Triumphs? And how much nearer was the Prospect of Peace from the Walls of *Bouchain*, than from those of *Aire*, which ended the Operations of the preceding Campaign?

In the Field, the Duke of *Marlborough* was, beyond all Contradiction, one of the greatest of Men; his Exploits have both enriched and adorned our Annals; and whenever the *British* military Glory shall be celebrated, by future Times, his Name will be enrolled among those Heroes who have enlarged it most. — But, accomplished and meritorious as he was, three Kingdoms were rather too rich a Victim to be sacrificed, that his Triumphs might be rendered complete.

I will not enter into the Controversy, whether the great Presents received by his Grace from *Medina the Jew*, on Account of the Bread-Contracts, or the Two and a Half per Cent. deducted from the Pay of the Foreign
Troops

Troops in the *British Service*, were really Perquisites or Breaches of Trust ; or whether in any Light they authoriz'd the Removal of so fortunate and illustrious a General : But this is certain ; The Duke's untractable Behaviour on the Disgrace of his Friends contributed *as much* to that great Event, as the Violence of his Adversaries : And it is as certain, likewise, that Faction was equally predominant on both Sides.

Her Majesty, however, thought proper to disarm him of his Greatness, by a Letter under her own Hand ; to which, it seems, his Grace return'd the following Answer.

‘ MADAM,

‘ I am very sensible of the Honour your
 ‘ Majesty does me in dismissing me from
 ‘ your Service by a Letter of your own
 ‘ Hand, tho’ I find by it that my Ene-
 ‘ mies have been able to prevail with your
 ‘ Majesty to do it in the *Manner* that is most
 ‘ injurious to me. And if their Malice and
 ‘ Inveteracy against me had not been more
 ‘ powerful with them than the Consideration
 ‘ of your Majesty’s Honour and Justice, they
 ‘ would

would not have influenced you to impute
 the Occasion of my Dismission to a false
 and malicious Insinuation contrived by
 themselves, and made public, when there
 was no Opportunity for me to give in my
 Answer; which, they must needs be con-
 scious, would fully detect the Falshood and
 Malice of their Aspersions, and not leave
 them that Handle for bringing your Ma-
 jesty to such Extremities against me.

But I am much more concerned at an
 Expression in your Majesty's Letter, which
 seems to complain of the TREATMENT
 you had met with. I know not how to
 understand that Word, nor what Construc-
 tion to make of it. I know I have always
 endeavoured to serye your Majesty faithful-
 ly and zealously, through a great many *un-*
deserved Mortifications. But if your Ma-
 jesty does intend by that Expression to find
 Fault with my not coming to the Cabinet-
 Council, I am very free to acknowledge that
 my Duty to your Majesty and Country would
 not give me Leave to join in the Council
 of a Man, who, in my Opinion, puts your
Majesty

'Majesty upon all Manner of Extremities.
 'And it is not my Opinion only, but the
 'Opinion of all Mankind, that the Friend-
 'ship of France must needs be destructive to
 'your Majesty: There being in that Court a
 'Root of Enmity irreconcilable to your Ma-
 'jesty's Government, and the Religion of
 'these Kingdoms. I wish your Majesty may
 'never find the Want of so faithful a Servant,
 'as I have always endeavoured to approve
 'myself to you. I am with the greatest Du-
 'ty and Submission,

MADAM,

Your Majesty's

most Dutiful and

obedient Subject,

MARLBOROUGH.

I have more than once had Occasion to
 observe, that your Grace has not given us
 the whole Evidence; and certainly the omit-
 ting the Queen's Letter on this remarkable
 Occasion, will admit of no Excuse: Tho'
 the Duke affects not to understand what her
 Majesty means by complaining of the Treat-
 ment

ment she had received, I am apt to believe her own Words would have explain'd themselves; and even the most partial Reader must have concluded, upon the Whole, that, with Respect to her own particular Quarrel, she had done nothing but what was right.

Thus, Madam, I have taken the Liberty to follow you, from a giddy, thoughtless Life of Cards and Amusements, which it seems was your Grace's first Out-set, along the crooked Paths of Policy and Intrigue; up the steep Ascent of Ambition, down the dirty By-ways of Reproach and Inveteracy, and thro' the perplexed Mazes of Altercation and Controversy, and have left you, tho' deprived of Power, yet in quiet Possession of Wealth almost inestimable, the super-abundant Harvest which you had safely hous'd, during the long Continuance of Court-shine; and at leisure to accumulate on one Hand, in consequence of those pernicious Measures, which you did yourself the Honour to oppose on the other.

With Regard to your Grace's third Section, which contains merely an Attempt to purge

your self from personal Calumnies, I shall leave it, in a Manner, as I found it: in factious Times, to bely one Side is held meritorious by the other; no Weight, therefore, is to be plac'd on such interested Evidence; and I will not urge one Particular of a Thousand, against the solemn Affelevation you are pleas'd to make of your own Innocence.

But there is, however, something so extraordinary in the following Passage, that I cannot resist the inserting it entire; tho' 'tis more than possible the Public may think I have rather been too profuse of my Quotations already.

' These were the * only Grants I ever had
 ' from the Queen, except one, which occa-
 ' sioned the † witty Comparison that was
 ' made between me and the Lady's Wo-
 ' man, who out of her Mistress's Pin-
 ' Money of 26*l.* put twenty two into her
 ' own Pocket. The Matter was this. At
 ' the Queen's Accession to the Government,

* Five thousand Pounds apiece by way of Portion to each of her Grace's four Daughters; the Rangership of Windsor-Park, and the Ground in St. James's-Park, upon which Marlborough-House now stands.

† See Examiner.

she used to lament to me, that the Crown
 being impoverished by former Grants, she
 wanted the Power her Predecessors had
 enjoyed to reward faithful Servants; and
 she desired me to take out of the Privy-
 Purse 2000*l.* a Year, in Order to some
 Purchase for my Advantage. I made my
 grateful Acknowledgments to her Majesty,
 but at the same Time said, that as her
 Majesty was so good to provide for my
 Children, and as the Offices I enjoy'd by
 her Favour brought me in *more* than I
 wanted, I could not think it reasonable to
 accept her Offer; and I absolutely *refused*
 it. The Queen some time after, in two
 several Letters, pressed me to receive this
 Bounty, and she frequently did the same
 by Word of Mouth. Nevertheless I con-
 stantly declined it; until the Time, that,
 notwithstanding the uncommon Regard I
 had shown to her Majesty's Interest and
 Honour in the Execution of my Trusts,
 she was pleased to + *dismiss* me from her
 Service.

+ Her Grace seems to have forgot that she dismiss'd herself.

Service.

' Service. Then indeed it was thought I
 ' had no longer the same Reason to be
 ' scrupulous on this Head. By the Advice
 ' of my Friends, I sent the Queen one of
 ' her own Letters, in which she had pressed
 ' me to take the 2000*l.* a Year; and I
 ' wrote at the same Time to ask her Ma-
 ' jesty, whether she would allow me to
 ' charge in the Privy-Purse Accounts, which
 ' I was to send her, that yearly Sum from
 ' the Time of the Offer, amounting to: †
 ' 18,000*l.* Her Majesty was pleased to an-
 ' swer, THAT I MIGHT CHARGE IT.

What a Contrast of Disposition here
 breaks forth? What Magnanimity appears
 on one Side? what * * * * and * * * * on
 the other?

I have just observed that our Characters
 are most discernable in our Actions; there is

† This puts me in mind of a similar Story told of Dr. Ratcliff, who, attending one of his Intimates in a dangerous Sickness, with an unusual Strain of Generosity, declared he would not touch a Fee. One insisted; the other was positive: But when the Cure was perform'd, and the Doctor taking his Leave, quoth the Patient, Sir, *In this Purse I have put every Day's Fee; nor must your Goodness get the better of my Gratitude.* The Doctor eyes the Purse, counts the Days in a Moment, and then, holding out his Hand, replies — *Well, I can hold out no longer — Singly, I could have refus'd them for a Twelvemonth — But all together they are irresistible.*

no need, therefore, for any *Friend* of Mr. Harley's to take the like Trouble with your Grace's, which your *Friend* has bestow'd on his: One half of your Portrait, as drawn by your own inimitable Hand, is already display'd above; and the other half may perhaps, be supply'd from another Fact which follows below.

One of the few *French* Noblemen, whose Curiosity leads them to visit *Great Britain*, thought himself oblig'd, among the Remarkables of the Island, to pay a Visit to your Grace; on which Occasion, to be exceedingly polite, he kept up the Spirit of the Conversation, with a florid Detail of the Wonders perform'd by the Duke of *Marlborough*; to which your Grace seem'd to listen at first with a very sensible Pleasure; but apprehending, as he went on, that his Eloquence was like to be *confin'd to the Duke only*, the Spirit which had ever possess'd you could not help bursting out — *All this is true, Sir: But you forget that all this and much more is owing to me.*

As Ingratitude, Ingratitude, Ingratitude, Madam, is the Sum Total of your Account; I shall take my Leave of your Grace with the Two celebrated Bills of *Roman Gratitude*, and
British

British Ingratitude many Years ago drawn up in the *Examiner*, for the Use of the *Marlborough Family*, by one of the greatest Wits that ever did Honour to human Nature.

A Bill of ROMAN Gratitude.

<i>Imprim.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
For Frankincense and Earthen Pots to burn it in —	4 10 0
A Bull for Sacrifice —	8 0 0
An Embroidered Garment —	50 0 0
A Crown of Lawrel —	0 0 2
A Statue —	100 0 0
A Trophy —	80 0 0
1000 Copper Medals, value half-pence a piece	2 1 8
A Triumphal Arch —	500 0 0
A Triumphal Car, valued as a Modern Coach —	100 0 0
Casual Charges at the Triumph —	150 0 0
	—
	994 11 10

A Bill of BRITISH Ingratitude.

<i>Imprim.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
Woodstock —	40000 0 0
Blenheim —	200000 0 0
Post-Office	
Grant —	100000 0 0
Mildenheim —	30000 0 0
Pictures,	
Jewels, &c. —	60000 0 0
Pall-mall	
Grant, the W.	
Rangership,	
&c. —	10000 0 0
Employments	
	100000 0 0
	—
	540000 0 0

*I am, may it please your Grace,
your Grace's most humble Servant,*

* * * * *

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